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PRESENTED BY  
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI  
OF UTTARPARA.

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL 1806.

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N<sup>o</sup>. XV.

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ART. I. *War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags.*  
Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 252. London. 1806.

THIS is a pamphlet of great merit, upon a subject of very general importance. It is written with uncommon talent and considerable eloquence; and is distinguished by that full and systematic argument, and also perhaps by that tone of confidence, anxiety, and exaggeration, which we expect to meet in the pleadings of a professional advocate. Though we have been very much struck with some of the statements and reasonings of the ingenious author, we are not prepared to adopt the whole of his conclusions; and as the subject is immediately interesting to a greater variety of persons than usually concern themselves with international discussions, we shall first endeavour to give a clear abstract of the views and doctrines set forth in this publication, and then subjoin such observations as have occurred to us upon the great question to which it relates.

The question, our readers are probably aware, relates mainly to the right claimed by neutral nations to traffic with the colonies of our enemies in time of war. By the general policy of Europe, the trade of colonies has usually been monopolized by the mother country; and, in time of peace, no other nation has been permitted either to export their produce, or to furnish them with supplies. In the present, and in former wars, however, the colonial trade of France has been in a great degree thrown open to neutrals; and it is the object of this author to point out to his countrymen the nature and extent of the injury which has resulted to our cause from their interference; and the justice and expediency of endeavouring to put a stop to it.

He sets out with a short historical summary of the origin and progress of this evil, and of the means hitherto employed to resist it. It was in the war 1756, he informs us, that France was first  
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driven, by the pressure of maritime hostility, to relax her colonial monopoly, and to invite neutral nations to resort to her West Indian ports, for the purpose both of furnishing supplies to the colonies, and of carrying their produce, apparently as neutral property, to market. The prize courts of this country, however, had at that time no difficulty in determining this trade to be illegal, and condemning the vessels engaged in it, however clearly the property might appear to be neutral. The principle of these decisions, which has since been generally known by the name of 'the rule of the war 1756,' was substantially this, 'that a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of his enemies' hostilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war in a way that was prohibited in time of peace.' This rule was asserted and submitted to during the whole period of that war, which only terminated in 1763. Previously to the accession of France to the American war, she had in some measure relaxed her monopoly, and admitted neutrals in time of peace to trade to a certain extent with her colonies: in that war, also, her maritime inferiority was by no means so decided as to disable her from protecting her trade; and though neutrals did then undoubtedly engage in the colonial trade to a much greater extent than they would have been permitted to do in time of peace, it was not thought advisable, in the circumstances that have been mentioned, and in the peculiar political situation of the country, to assert to its full effect the rule of the war 1756, by which the trade might have been disallowed. The author assures us, however, that this rule was in no instance abandoned or reversed, though it was not thought proper to apply it, in a case of peculiar difficulty both legal and political.

As soon as peace was concluded, the colonial monopoly of France was resumed in its utmost rigour, and neutrals were again entirely excluded from a trade which had been entrusted in a great measure to their hands. Upon the breaking out of the war 1793, the same system of evasion was resumed, and neutrals openly invited to trade in the ports of the hostile colonies. This country immediately reverted to the rule of the war 1756; and, in the end of that year (November 1793) issued instructions to seize all vessels bringing goods from the hostile colonies, or carrying supplies to them. This resolution, however, gave occasion to warm remonstrances on the part of America, and, in January 1794, the instructions were so far modified and relaxed, as only to subject to seizure 'vessels coming directly from any port of the colonies to Europe.' Matters continued upon this footing till 1798, when a farther indulgence was given to the neutral trade, by permitting the produce of the hostile colonies to be carried to the mother country of the neutral trader, whether in Europe or in America, and

and also to be brought by them into the ports of this country. This regulation remained in force down to the treaty of Amiens ; and immediately upon that pacification, the government of France returned to the principle of strict monopoly, and shut the ports of its colonies to all vessels but its own. On the commencement of the present war, the accustomed movements took place ; the trade of the colonies was once more resigned by the enemy into the hands of the neutrals ; and our government issued an instruction subjecting to seizure all vessels carrying on trade between the said colonies and any country but the mother country of the neutral trader. This is the last public instruction which has been issued by government for the regulation of our cruisers and ships of war ; and it is to the consequences of its subsistence, and the relaxation of the rule 1756, that the author of the work before us has directed the attention of his readers. In point of historical statement, it only remains to add, that in the treaty negotiated with America through Mr Jay, it was originally stipulated that the French colonial produce imported into that country should not be reexported to Europe during the war : but the treaty was ratified by the American government with the special exception of that article, and our administration thought proper to acquiesce in its rejection.

The author now proceeds to point out the consequences of this indulgence to the neutral traders, and the extent of the mischiefs which we have brought upon ourselves, by this practical relaxation of the rule of the war 1756.

The hostile proprietor of the colonial produce will naturally be anxious to transmit it to his own country, or to his accustomed markets in Europe ; and this he is enabled to do, our author assures us, in consequence of the subsisting regulations, in one of two ways. He embarks it in neutral bottoms in the ports of the colony, and invests it in the name of a neutral proprietor. If the vessel belong to an European neutral, she sails with a clearance for a port in her mother country, and is thus secured against our captors during the whole homeward voyage. When she arrives on the European coast, she slips into the mother country of the belligerent, or into any other port to which she had been consigned by the hostile owner. If the neutral be American, this mode of proceeding can scarcely ever be adopted ; and the practice, in such cases, is to proceed, in the first instance, to a port in America, and thence to export the cargo in the same or a different bottom to the European market, pointed out by the colonial proprietor.

These double voyages, undertaken for the express purpose of avoiding the seizure to which the vessels would have been liable, if they had run directly from the colonies to the European market.

ket, our author reprobates as most fraudulent and unjustifiable evasions of the belligerent rights reserved to us by our present indulgent regulations; and he spends a great deal of time in detailing the contrivances by which the device has been successively improved, so as to be now almost secure from detection. The great question on all such seizures is, whether the continuity of the voyage, from the colony to the European market, has really been broken by an effective and *bona fide* delivery in an American port, and a subsequent shipment on account of an American owner for Europe; or whether it be evident, from all the circumstances, that the voyage to America was merely a colour and pretext, and that the original destination of the cargo was for the European market to which it is ultimately consigned? The ingenuity of the neutralizing agents has enabled them to keep pace with the increasing sagacity or suspicion of the courts of prize; and speedily taught them to provide, beforehand, all those facts and documents which the most recent decisions had declared to be necessary for their safety. At first, an entire new clearance and set of papers, taken on board in the American port, was thought to be sufficient; but afterwards, when it was made manifest that the vessel merely touched there for the purpose of procuring these documents, and instantly pursued her voyage to Europe, it was found necessary to cover the evasion by a greater complication of circumstances. Evidence was therefore successively required, of the goods having been actually landed, or of the property having been transferred by an actual sale in America; of the insurance being made separately upon the voyages from the colony to America, and from that country to Europe, as upon two entire and independent voyages;—and, finally, of the actual payment of the importation duties in the ports of the United States. Certain illusory certificates of this last circumstance having been rejected in our courts of prize in some recent instances, formed the sole occasion, our author assures us, of all the clamour which has been echoed from France and America upon the subject of our tyranny over neutrals.

The consequence of these devices has been, that the colonies retained by our enemies have gone on flourishing, in a commercial point of view, even more rapidly than in time of peace; while their produce has been transported to the most advantageous market, under cover of the neutral flag, with a degree of cheapness and security superior to what we can command for our own by means of the unquestioned supremacy of our maritime power. The fact is, our author assures us, that *not a single* ~~merchant ship~~ *ship* now traverses the Atlantic under enemies' colours; ~~nor~~, he adds, that, with the exception of a very insignificant coasting

coasting trade, there is not a single merchant ship that enters or clears out of the enemies' ports but under neutral colours; all their immense traffic is carried on in the name of Danes, Prussians, and Americans; and, except in a few rare cases, where the neglect or unskilfulness of the agents has exposed the fallacy to which they are indebted for protection, this hostile trade is carried on with less risk of capture, and, consequently, at a lower rate of insurance, than that which sails under the imperial flag of England. This statement is justified by a long investigation and enumeration of particulars, from which the author seems warranted in concluding, that the produce of the enemies' colonies is at this moment brought to Europe more securely, and sold there for a lower price, than that of our own settlements.

In all this disquisition, the author has taken it for granted, that a very large proportion of the produce so transported is really and truly the property of the enemy; and that the appearance of a neutral owner in the ship papers, is entirely a fraudulent and fallacious contrivance. In comparing the enormous extent of this factitious neutral trade in the present war, with what it ever was on former occasions, the author makes the following striking observations.

' Those who are but superficially acquainted with the subject, may perhaps be ready to suppose, that the frauds which they hear imputed to neutral merchants at this period, are like those which have always prevailed in every maritime war; but the present case, in its extent and grossness at least, is quite without a precedent.

' Formerly, indeed, neutrals have carried much of the property of our enemies; and great part of what they carried was always ostensibly their own; but now, they carry the *whole* of his exports and imports, and allege the *whole* to be neutral. It rarely, if ever, happens, that the property of a single bale of goods is admitted by the papers to be hostile property. We are at war with all those who, next to ourselves, are the chief commercial nations of the old world; and yet the ocean does not sustain a single keel, ships of war excepted, in which we can find any merchandize that is allowed to be legitimate prize.

' France, Spain, Holland, Genoa, and the late Austrian Netherlands, and all the colonies and transmarine dominions of those powers, do not, collectively, at this hour, possess a single merchant ship, or a merchant, engaged on his own account in exterior commerce; or else the neutral flag is now prostituted, to a degree very far beyond all former example.

' Those who dispute the latter conclusion, must ask us to believe, that all the once eminent mercantile houses of the great maritime countries now hostile to England, are become mere factors, who buy and sell on commission, for the mighty, though new-born merchants of Denmark, Prussia, and America; for in all the numberless ports and territories of our enemies, there is not one man who now openly sustains the character

ter of a foreign independent trader, even by a single adventure. Not a pipe of brandy is cleared outwards, nor a hoghead of sugar entered inwards, in which any subject of those unfortunate realms has an interest beyond his commission.

‘ If the extravagance of this general result, did not sufficiently shew the falsehood, in a general view, of the items of pretence which compose it, I might further satisfy, and perhaps astonish the reader, by adducing particular examples of the gross fictions by which the claims of neutral property are commonly sustained in the prize court.

‘ Merchants who, immediately prior to the last war, were scarcely known, even in the obscure sea-port towns at which they resided, have suddenly started up as sole owners of great numbers of ships, and sole proprietors of rich cargoes, which it would have alarmed the wealthiest merchants of Europe, to hazard at once on the chance of a market, even in peaceable times. A man who, at the breaking out of the war, was a petty shoemaker, in a small town of East Friesland, had, at one time, a hundred and fifty vessels, navigating as his property under Prussian colours.

‘ It has been quite a common case, to find individuals, who confessedly had but recently commenced business as merchants, and whose commercial establishments on shore were so insignificant, that they sometimes had not a single clerk in their employment, the claimants of numerous cargoes, each worth many thousand pounds; and all destined, at the same time, with the same species of goods, to the same precarious markets.

‘ The cargoes of no less than five East Indiamen, all composed of the rich exports of Batavia, together with three of the ships, were cotemporary purchases, on speculation, of a single house at Providence in Rhode Island, and were all bound, as asserted, to that American port: where, it is scarcely necessary to add, no demand for their cargoes existed.

‘ Adventures not less gigantic, were the subjects of voyages from the colonies of Dutch Guiana, to the neutral ports of Europe; and from the Spanish West Indies, to North America. Vessels were sent out from the parsimonious northern ports of the latter country, and brought back, in abundance, the dollars and gold ingots of Vera Cruz and La Plata. Single ships have been found returning with bullion on board, to the value of from a hundred, to a hundred and fifty thousand Spanish dollars, besides valuable cargoes of other colonial exports.

‘ Yet even these daring adventurers have been eclipsed. One neutral house has boldly contracted for all the merchandize of the Dutch East India Company at Batavia; amounting in value to no less than one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling.

‘ But have not, it may be asked, the means of payment, for all the rich cargoes which have been captured, undergone a judicial investigation? Yes, such slender investigation as the prize court (which of necessity proceeds on the *ex parte* evidence of the claimants themselves) has

has power to institute ; the effect of which has been, to produce a tribe of subsidiary impostures, not less gross than the principal frauds which they were adduced to support.' p. 95-99.

He then proceeds to support his proposition, by specifying a number of cases, in which the evidence of neutral property, though supported and attested in such a way as to force a court of law to admit and receive it, was opposed by such insurmountable circumstances of absolute incredibility, as to leave no doubt in the mind of any impartial person as to its substantial falsity. He concludes this part of his argument by stating, that, even if it were admitted that the whole of this colonial produce were really transferred to neutrals, the gain of the enemy would scarcely be less substantial ; as the profits of the neutral purchasers probably would not be more considerable than the commission which must be paid them, on the other supposition, for the use of their name and flag.

In this way, our author is of opinion, that the indulgence shewn to the neutral trade, by relaxing the rule of the war 1756, has deprived us of the natural advantages of our maritime superiority, and enabled the enemy, not only to elude our hostility, but to replenish his exchequer by a revenue that might be turned, in part at least, into our own coffers ; and to carry on a trade, by which our merchants and planters are undersold in the European market. This, however, he assures us, is by no means the whole of the mischief which has resulted from these arrangements ; they tend directly to the depression of our maritime power, and the exaltation of the navy of France.

These effects they produce, by the seduction of our seamen into the American merchant service by the temptation of high wages, and the prospect of being secure from impressment, in consequence of being presented with letters of naturalization in every port in the country ; by the prisoners which are daily made by the enemies' privateers, without any possibility of reprisals upon our part ; by the command which the French navy obtains of all the seafaring men in their dominions in consequence of the total suspension of their commerce ; and, finally, by the discouragement of our own navy, from the impossibility of making captures, and the consequent cessation of these privateering expeditions, which formed such a school of naval enterprize, and afforded such an incentive to extraordinary courage and activity.

Such are the evils which our author ascribes to the interference of the neutral nations in the trade of the enemies' colonies. The remedy our readers will all be prepared to anticipate. We must return to the salutary and equitable rule of the war 1756, and make prize of all vessels navigating either to or from the colonial settlements of the enemy.

‘ This remedy,’ he observes, ‘ cannot fail to be effectual. There will be no room for fictitious pretences, when the immediate voyage itself, in respect to the place of departure or destination, is a sufficient cause of forfeiture; for the illegal fact must be known to every man on board; must appear from the papers, unless all the public as well as private instruments are fictitious; and besides, would, for the most part, be discoverable, not only from the place of capture, and the course the ship is steering, but from the nature of the cargo on board.

‘ The use, therefore, of neutral bottoms in the colonial trade, would soon be found by our enemies to yield them no protection. They would hoist again their own commercial colours; and either restore to us all the fair fruits of an unresisted naval superiority, or, by sending out convoys for the protection of their trade, open to us again that ancient field of offensive war, in which we are sure to be victorious. Our seamen would be enriched, our imports would be very largely increased, and every western breeze would waft into the channel, not a neutral sail or two to furnish diplomatic squabbles and litigation in the Admiralty, but numerous and valuable prizes, and sometimes entire fleets of merchantmen with their convoys, taken from open enemies and under hostile colours. The captive flags of France, Holland, and Spain, would again be incessantly seen at Plymouth and Spithead drooping below the British ensigns; and the spectacle would recruit for our navy far better than the most liberal bounties.

‘ Then, too, the enemy would be often obliged to hazard his squadrons and fleets, for the relief of his colonies, as was usual in former wars; and the known partiality of Bonaparte to these possessions, especially to the Windward Antilles, would perhaps induce him to incur risks for their protection, greater than those which their value in a national view might warrant.’ p. 141-3.

Next comes the question of right;—and here our author, we cannot help thinking, is too concise and dogmatical. He says, in the first place, that the neutrals themselves have recognized the whole principle of the rule 1756, by submitting to that modification of it which still restrains their intercourse with the hostile colonies. He then refers, in a very triumphant manner, to the following short exposition of this principle, contained in a judgment of Sir W. Scott at the Admiralty.

‘ The general rule is, that the neutral has a right to carry on, in time of war, his accustomed trade to the utmost extent of which that accustomed trade is capable. Very different is the case of a trade which the neutral has never possessed, which he holds by no title of use and habit in times of peace, and which, in fact, he can obtain in war by no other title than by the success of the one belligerent against the other, and at the expense of that very belligerent under whose success he sets up his title; and such I take to be the colonial trade, generally speak-

What is the colonial trade, generally speaking? It is a trade generally

nerally shut up to the exclusive use of the mother country to which the colony belongs; and this to a double use—the one, that of supplying a market for the consumption of native commodities, and the other, of furnishing to the mother country the peculiar commodities of the colonial regions: to these two purposes of the mother country, the general policy respecting colonies belonging to the states of Europe, has restricted them.

“ With respect to other countries, generally speaking, the colony has no existence. It is possible that, indirectly and remotely, such colonies may affect the commerce of other countries. The manufactures of Germany may find their way into Jamaica or Guadaloupe, and the sugar of Jamaica or Guadaloupe into the interior parts of Germany; but as to any direct communication or advantage resulting therefrom, Guadaloupe and Jamaica are no more to Germany than if they were settlements in the mountains of the moon. To commercial purposes they are not in the same planet. If they were annihilated, it would make no chasm in the commercial map of Hamburgh. If Guadaloupe could be sunk in the sea by the effect of hostility at the beginning of a war, it would be a mighty loss to France, as Jamaica would be to England, if it could be made the subject of a similar act of violence; but such events would find their way into the chronicles of other countries as events of disinterested curiosity, and nothing more.

“ Upon the interruption of a war, what are the rights of belligerents and neutrals respectively, regarding such places? It is an indubitable right of the belligerent to possess himself of such places, as of any other possession of his enemy. This is his common right; but he has the certain means of carrying such a right into effect if he has a decided superiority at sea. Such colonies are dependent for their existence, as colonies, on foreign supplies; if they cannot be supplied and defended, they must fall to the belligerent of course; and if the belligerent chooses to apply his means to such an object, what right has a third party, perfectly neutral, to step in and prevent the execution? No existing interest of his is affected by it; he can have no right to apply to his own use the beneficial consequences of the mere act of the belligerent, and to say, “ True it is, you have, by force of arms, forced such places out of the exclusive possession of the enemy; but I will share the benefits of the conquest, and, by sharing its benefits, prevent its progress. You have, in effect, and by lawful means, turned the enemy out of the possession which he had exclusively maintained against the whole world, and with which we had never presumed to interfere; but we will interpose to prevent his absolute surrender, by the means of that very opening which the prevalence of your arms alone effected;—supplies shall be sent, and their products shall be exported: you have lawfully destroyed his monopoly, but you shall not be permitted to possess it yourself; we insist to share the fruits of your victories; and your blood and treasure have been expended, not for your own interest, but for the common benefit of others.”

“ Upon



" Upon these grounds, it cannot be contended to be a right of neutrals to intrude into a commerce which had been uniformly shut against them, and which is now forced open merely by the pressure of war ; for when the enemy, under an entire inability to supply his colonies and to export their products, affects to open them to neutrals, it is not his will but his necessity that changes the system : that change is the direct and unavoidable consequence of the compulsion of war ; it is a measure, not of French councils, but of British force." p. 13—16.

This reasoning, our author observes, it would be easy to amplify, but very difficult to improve. He declines such an ambitious attempt ; and contents himself with making a short and contemptuous answer to certain statements and apologies which, he says, have been made in behalf of the neutrals. He denies that they suffer any loss or inconvenience from the war, in compensation of which, it might be reasonable to let them extend their commerce in certain other directions. He denies that the belligerent could, after the declaration of war, convey his colonial trade into the hands of a neutral, in such a way as to defeat the enemy's right to attack and obstruct it. The moment the sword was drawn, he contends, this trade ceased to be in the full possession or absolute disposal of the belligerent. It became a prize set up within the lists of war, and the seizure or defence of it the chief aim of the combatants. It could not be fairly or effectually withdrawn, therefore, by the intervention of a neutral, any more than a property could be effectually transferred to an accomplice, after it had been fairly brought into a court of law, to abide the claims of two public litigants. Finally, he denies that the temporary indulgences and advantages which neutrals have always been allowed in time of war, afford any precedent for their assumption of the whole colonial trade of a belligerent ; both on account of the enormous extent and fatal consequences of the latter pretension, and because the sole motive of the belligerent in inviting them to this trade, is to defeat the operation of legal hostilities, and not from any general view of commercial policy, or regard to the interest of the neutral nations themselves. This transference of the colonial trade is, therefore, properly speaking, a stratagem of war, or hostile manœuvre on the part of the enemy, and cannot be carried into execution by any other nation without forfeiting the true character of neutrality. We shall have occasion, perhaps, to recur to some of these considerations by and by. We sketch them slightly at present, merely to preserve the continuity of our analysis.

The last of our author's speculations relates to the prudence or expediency of applying, at this moment, the just and effectual remedy which he has so warmly recommended in the abstract. The objection he sees clearly enough ; and states in plain language.

We

We shall exasperate all the neutral powers by such a proceeding, and may provoke some of them to actual hostility.

The author contends, against those apprehensions, that if the principle of our conduct be undeniably just and equitable, it will command the assent of the neutrals themselves as soon as it is properly understood; that America, in particular, may safely be presumed extremely unwilling to join her arms with those of France, against the only country which now upholds, in the old world, the general interests of freedom; that the injury which the neutral commerce could sustain, by engaging in the war, would be incomparably greater than any loss they could suffer from the limitation of their colonial trade; and that, in point of fact, this trade is by no means very advantageous to the great body of the neutral nations; a very large part of it being carried on by temporary settlers from the hostile country, and the whole being of that precarious and occasional description, in which it cannot be for the benefit of a new country that much of its capital should be invested.

For these reasons, he thinks that war with the neutrals is not likely to follow from the instant and resolute assertion of our belligerent rights; but even if it should follow, he is of opinion that the evils of such a warfare would be smaller than those which we now suffer from their abandonment and evasion. He laughs at the idea of excluding our manufactures from places where there is a natural and effectual demand for them, by any official prohibitions or enactments; and sees, in the prudent exercise of the prerogative of granting licenses for direct trade with the enemy, a ready way of getting over the most immediate obstacles to their diffusion. For these reasons, as well as from the impossibility of successfully combating, in any other way, a power with whom, he says, we cannot make peace with security, he is of opinion that we are imperiously called on to repress the encroachment of neutrals, and to assert our natural right to harass and distress the colonies of our enemy.

Such is the sum and substance of this author's patriotic reasonings. With all our partialities to his side of the argument, there is much in every part of his volume to which we find it impossible to give an unqualified assent.

The main question here, it is obvious, is the question of *right*. For, though the author has spent a great deal of time in proving that we have a substantial *interest* in asserting such a right, this is a point which, we humbly conceive, might have been taken for granted, without risk of contradiction. That it would be for our immediate benefit, and the great annoyance of the enemy, to capture all vessels engaged in trade with him, or even having the produce

produce of his territories aboard, cannot easily admit of doubt. We have an obvious interest to destroy his whole trade both domestic and colonial, and to take to ourselves every thing that ever was in his possession. The only question is, if we have a right to do this.

But though the interest we have in the suppression of the trade in question is in itself sufficiently obvious, we cannot avoid saying that the author's representation of it appears to us to be exaggerated in a very unreasonable manner; and it was not without some degree of indignation that we found him affecting to consider it as amounting to that extreme and urgent necessity which makes a right out of an emergency, and entitles us to sacrifice the claims of our neighbours to our own immediate preservation. The commercial disadvantage which our own colonial trade may suffer from the competition of that carried on by the neutrals, is but a branch of the general and inherent disadvantage which all trade must suffer, which is the object of direct hostility, when placed in competition with that which is exempted from its hazards. The rate of insurance will necessarily be higher upon the ships of a belligerent than on those of a neutral; and the want of hands for the navy, as well as the dread of impressment, will render it more difficult to man a merchant vessel in time of war than in time of peace. It is a little extravagant, however, to hold up these universal consequences of hostility as circumstances of such urgent danger, as to give us a right to suppress the neutral trade which is encouraged by their occurrence, or in any degree to help out such a right, if it were otherwise questionable or defective. The other disastrous consequences upon which this author insists, are still less entitled to consideration. The seduction of our seamen into the American merchant service, has no particular reference to their trade with our enemy's colonies. It is an inconvenience to which we shall always be liable, while their service is more profitable than ours; and when we can offer better terms than theirs, we shall retaliate, it is presumed, by engaging as many of their seamen as we shall have occasion for. The idea of exalting the French naval power, by the total destruction and abandonment of her maritime trade, is a great deal too absurd to require any serious confutation.

But though it is impossible to listen to these exaggerated views of the motives, which must make us wish to abridge the enemies' trade with neutrals, it is certain, we have already admitted, that we have a strong and real interest in its limitation. It would be very desirable for us to interdict our enemies from all amicable intercourse with other nations, and to be permitted to seize upon every thing that was imported into, or exported out of their territories,

ritories. With regard to a great part of their trade with neutrals, it is established, however, and admitted upon all hands, that we can exercise no such interference. We cannot annihilate the foreign trade of the rest of the world, in order to diminish the comforts, or cut off the resources of the nation with which we happen to be at war. The question is, if we can do this with the colonial trade, which we certainly cannot do with the trade carried on with the mother country, and home territory of our enemy?—if we can justify the rule of the war 1756 upon these general principles of equity and universal expediency, which form the basis of international law?

In proceeding to the consideration of this important question, we will not dissemble that we feel ourselves in some measure under the influence of certain impressions as to the justice and policy of capturing merchant ships in general, which we have no doubt that the author of this pamphlet and his admirers will consider as abundantly romantic. In the enlightened policy of modern times, war is not the concern of individuals, but of governments: it is only a more coarse sort of diplomacy in which the interests of contending nations are entrusted to public functionaries and accredited agents, who measure their strength and dexterity in liberal competition, and carry on their operations according to laws and conventions, as perfectly understood as those which regulate the ceremonial of courts. It is no longer thought lawful to annoy an enemy indiscriminately, by every means in our power; nor is it enough, to justify an act of violence or cruelty, that it has a manifest tendency to weaken or intimidate the nation with which we are at war. We have ceased to poison arms or provisions; to refuse quarter; to massacre women and children; or to sack and burn defenceless towns and villages. Those who take no part in actual hostilities, in short, are now understood to be exempted from its terrors, and are not legal objects of attack, except in cases where the actual combatants are forced to interfere with them by the unavoidable necessities of their own situation. The private property of pacific and industrious individuals seems to be protected by the spirit of these regulations: and, except in the single case of maritime capture, it is spared accordingly, by the general usage of all modern nations. No army now plunders unarmed individuals ashore, except for the purpose of providing for its own subsistence; and the laws of war are thought to be violated by the seizure of private property for the sake of gain, even within the limits of the hostile territory.

It is not easy, at first sight, to discover why this humane and enlightened policy should still be excluded from the scenes of maritime

maritime hostility ; or why the plunder of industrious merchants, which is thought disgraceful on land, should still be accounted honourable at sea. If the abstinence of land forces has been enjoined to them upon principles of mere humanity and justice, it is impossible to justify or to account for this distinction : but though men are always apt enough to take credit for these honourable motives, we suspect that they form but rarely the springs of their public proceedings. Plunder at land, we apprehend, has been prohibited, chiefly, because it endangers the discipline of the army to which it is permitted, and incumbers their movements ; and because it is for the most part impracticable to carry away any considerable proportion of the property which is lost to the original owners. Neither of these motives operate at sea : and the general use of maritime insurance, by throwing the losses of individual merchants upon persons who make a trade of contracting for them, tends, both in appearance and reality, to diminish the inhumanity of the procedure, and to convert it into a measure of general and national hostility.

In spite of this palliation, however, we cannot help thinking, that the practice of maritime capture is irreconcilable with the generous and enlightened notions of public hostility which were brought to maturity in the course of the last century, and that it is a stain upon that lenient and refined system of policy by which the history of modern Europe is distinguished from that of the rest of the world. That it is for the general interest of mankind that war should give as little obstruction as possible to the movements of that great machinery by which their comforts are supplied, and their improvement promoted, is a proposition that is not likely to be contested. That it must be for the interest of the belligerents themselves, thus mutually to narrow the front which they oppose to loss and suffering, can as little admit of dispute, while they are considered as upon a par in all the circumstances of their situation. In settling these maxims of general expediency, which form what is called the law of nations, all nations are considered, however, under this aspect of perfect equality ; and although, in particular cases, the error of this assumption often makes the law infinitely more favourable to one than another, this disadvantage, in the practical result, has never been thought sufficient to relieve either of the parties from the controul of the general regulation. In this case, however, it really appears to us that the establishment and the maintenance of the general rule would be less obstructed by those actual inequalities in the situation of the opposite belligerents, than in any other that can be imagined. The very nature of the power to be renounced, seems nearly to insure, in all cases, an equal benefit

benefit from the surrender. The nation which is the most powerful at sea must always be the most vulnerable.—Maritime greatness is founded upon extended commerce; a great navy can only grow out of a great trade; and if it should seem unjust that the power which is most able to make captures should be restrained from its exercise, it can only be necessary to reflect that it must, for this very reason, be also more liable to capture; and that, though it may protect its merchantmen more effectually than its enemy, still, from their greater number, the total amount of its losses may be more than equal to the value of its captures, from the scantier stock of its enemy. The power, on the other hand, which has little to lose in this way, must feel that it is proportionally weak in the means, either of defence or annoyance.

The wars which have afflicted Europe for the last fifteen years, have not been of a character favourable to the development of such liberal principles; but we still entertain the hope of seeing them universally established; and willingly persuade ourselves that there is nothing chimerical in the idea of confining our maritime wars within the same limits with those which are waged on land, and completing, all over the civilized world, the distinction between an armed enemy and a pacific trader. The only treaty, we believe, in which this principle was mutually guaranteed, was that between Prussia and America in 1785. The bitterness of the revolutionary wars came too soon after, to let the example have its proper effect; yet the direct trade which has since been carried on with the enemy, either under the troublesome and partial protection of royal license, or, in a still more precarious manner, by the connivance of the hostile governments, serves to demonstrate the impolicy of a system which requires so many awkward exceptions, and which seems to have produced little to either of the belligerents, but losses and complaints from the very commencement of hostilities.

With these sentiments as to the policy of capturing the merchant ships of an enemy, it may be supposed that we will not be easily satisfied as to the justice of making prize of the property of neutrals; yet the question discussed by the author before us, is far from being determined by the principles to which we have just been alluding. Those principles can only be brought into action by a regular treaty and convention. One belligerent cannot afford to set the example of them to the other; they must be simultaneously adopted by both, or by neither. While France continues, therefore, to capture our merchantmen, we must make reprisals upon hers; and while she seizes upon the private property of our traders, we must, of necessity,

cessity, follow her example. While the present system of maritime warfare continues, no other course can be adopted. If it be lawful to seize on the property of an enemy in his own ships, we apprehend that there can be no good ground for saving it from seizure because it is in the ship of a neutral. The mere contract of affreightment can have no conceivable effect in neutralizing the property to be transported; and as the neutral suffers no damage if he receive freight and charges from the captors, it does not appear that there is any foundation whatsoever for the claim so often made by neutrals, for exempting from capture the acknowledged property of the enemy, if found on board their vessels. There seems to us to be nothing in the present system of international law with regard to maritime captures, that affords any analogy in favour of such an exemption, or that can even be reconciled to the supposition of its allowance.

It still remains a question, however, whether the seizure of neutral vessels employed in a trade to the colonies of the enemy, or in any other trade that was not open to them in time of peace, be justifiable on the principles of the law, or upon those general views of equity which serve for its foundation. This question, it appears to us, can only be resolved by inquiring, *first*, whether such captures have been actually recognized as legal by the *established usage* of modern Europe; and, *2dly*, whether they can be reconciled to the admitted principles of international law, by a fair investigation of the equity and expediency of the practice.

The first branch of investigation will not lead us, we are afraid, to any very satisfactory conclusion. The rule of the war 1756 certainly cannot be said to have been recognized as a part of the law of nations by any general or long established usage. It has never been asserted or supported at all, by any nation but Great Britain. It is admitted to have been asserted, for the first time, in the year 1756; and it is not denied, that, since 1763, it has never been asserted again in absolute and unqualified terms. The presumption, therefore, appears to be against its unqualified revival at present, in so far as the question is to be decided by usage.

The author before us contends, indeed, that the whole principle is admitted in the qualified restrictions that have been, and are still submitted to; and that those who acknowledge the justice of what we do now, cannot consistently dispute our right to do a good deal more. It is plain, however, that the neutral nations have at least as good a right to contend, that the principle is given by the limitations, as we have to say that it remains unimpaired in spite of them. A qualified or limited exercise of a right is an ordinary consequence of compromising a dispute about the right

right itself in the abstract. The neutrals contend that we have no right to exclude them from any part of the enemy's colonial trade: we maintain that we have a right to exclude them from it entirely. The matter is adjusted, in practice, by our allowing them a part of the trade, and by their submitting to be excluded from another part of it. It is evident that this compromise does not settle the general question of right in favour of either party: on the contrary, it is adopted in order to avoid settling it; and if either party shall become dissatisfied with the arrangement, he may certainly return to his original pretensions, without being charged with inconsistency. In common fairness, at least, we must allow this privilege to our competitors, when we claim it for ourselves. If we may assert our right to shut up the whole colonial trade, in spite of our long continued permission of a part of it, the neutrals may surely assert their right to the whole trade, in spite of their long acquiescence in a considerable limitation. The practice was founded avowedly upon mutual concessions from what the respective parties claimed as their rights. If these concessions are withdrawn upon one side, it is to be expected that they will be withdrawn, in like manner, on the other; and the practice cannot be pleaded in favour of either of the rights, as asserted, without these concessions.

We cannot cut short the question of right, therefore, in this case, by an appeal to established usage: the question upon the rule of 1756 is still an open question, under the existing system of international law; and can only be determined by a fair consideration of those reasons of justice or expediency, upon the faith of which it has been proposed to add it to this system.

Now, in entering upon this consideration, we will confess, that, in spite of the ill name they have in civil wars, and the dislike manifested for them by the author of this publication, we have a great love and affection for neutrals, and are not disposed, for light reasons, to subject them to any material discouragement. By their pacific and industrious exertions, the disastrous consequences of extended hostility are mitigated and repressed, and that great progress of civilization and prosperity is maintained, to which war might otherwise give so fatal an interruption. If their commerce be enlarged during the subsistence of hostilities, it should be remembered that it is enlarged by the demands of those whose comforts and enjoyments would be otherwise inevitably abridged; and that their profits are derived from supplying the demands of those who would be destitute but for their interference. Statesmen and jurists are too apt, in a commercial age, to forget that the chief benefits of trade are not enjoyed by those who carry it on, but by those who consume the commodities



commodities which it serves to distribute. If the produce of the French colonies were to be shut up, or to cease to be raised, from want of the means of bringing it to market, the cessation of the mercantile profit on its transportation would be but a small part of the loss which the world would sustain by the deprivation; and when neutrals interpose to carry on this trade, it is but a narrow and imperfect view of the question to look only to their commercial emoluments, and to set up against them the profits which we might have made by capture, or the advantages we might have obtained by impoverishing an enemy. Against these profits and advantages, we ought to take into account the inconveniences and distresses, the diminution of comfort and of enjoyment, which the annihilation of this commerce must produce among all those who consume or deal in the commodities which form the subject of it. The law of nations is a law which relates to all who can be affected by the acts it permits or prohibits; and it is formed upon an impartial view of the interests of the whole. It takes into calculation the relative magnitude of the good that is gained by one, and the evils that must consequently be suffered by all the rest; and according to the result of that equation, it promulgates its final decrees. It is not enough, therefore, in a question of this nature, to balance the pretensions of the belligerents and the trading neutral, whose rights are immediately under consideration. The whole neutrals who consume or deal in the commodity, in every quarter of the world, are entitled to a voice in the decision; and the inconveniences and sufferings of China or Japan, may form an essential element in that calculation which is to settle the true proportion between the whole good and evil of the opposite pretensions in this very controversy. We can by no means agree with Sir William Scott, that the inhabitants of Saxony or Russia have no interest in the fate of Guadaloupe or Jamaica, except as a subject of history. In an age like the present, there is scarcely a country on the globe that is not interested in the decisions of that great tribunal which judges of the law of nations; and wherever there is an interest, their ought to be a suffrage in the decision. A true verdict can only be found, in such a question, by a jury *de medietate linguæ*, composed of all the civilized nations of the world.

It is upon this general principle, of a balance and comparative estimate of the whole good and evil likely to be produced by the measure in contemplation, that we think this question must be ultimately decided: but, before attempting to apply it to the circumstances of the present case, it is necessary to consider the grounds upon which this author and the English government and courts of prize have defended the rule which it is now proposed to reestablish.

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Both parties are agreed in their general definition of the rights and duties of neutrals : But this is merely a new source of perplexity, since they differ very widely in the meaning they assign to the terms of this admitted definition. In point of right, it is agreed, the neutral should suffer no prejudice from the war, but should be protected in the enjoyment of every privilege which he possessed in his intercourse with either of the belligerents in time of peace, except only when the exercise of such privilege would interfere with the specific measures of hostility actually and immediately pursued by the other belligerent. In point of duty, the neutral should refrain from taking any share in the war, and from giving aid or assistance to either party, for offence or defence. So far all parties are agreed ; but there is matter enough for contention remaining.

The author before us contends, that, by these definitions, neutrals are plainly excluded from the colonial trade of a belligerent ; they are only to retain in war what they enjoyed in peace ; but as they were entirely excluded from this trade in peace, they can have no claim to any share of it in war, upon the footing of mere neutrality. Their rights are sufficiently respected, if they are left during the war in as good a condition as before it began ; and they have no cause to complain if a belligerent follows out his own hostile interest, by restraining them from usurping what he has disabled the enemy from retaining. In point of fact, it is added, that this usurpation of a new trade tends directly to aid and assist one of the parties in the war, and to defeat and obstruct the lawful hostilities of the other : it is therefore a clear violation of the duties of neutrality.

We confess that we cannot agree with any part of this interpretation. The general principle is, that a neutral shall suffer no prejudice from the war, but shall remain, in point of right, on the same footing as if peace had never been violated. Now, it was the right of a neutral, in time of peace, to trade with every country in the world, from the sovereign or proprietors of which he had received permission, and to be free from all challenge or interruption from any other party. That right and that freedom, however, is utterly destroyed in time of war, if a belligerent may interfere with his trade to any quarter of the world over which it has no dominion, and with the sovereigns of which it is admitted that the rights of the neutral were to remain as free and ample as ever. It was his undoubted right, in time of peace, to treat with every other nation for leave to trade with its colonies ; and if this right is lost by the war, it is in vain to say that he has not suffered prejudice by that occurrence. It is plain, indeed, that the advocates for the exclusion are sensible

of the impossibility of maintaining it on the mere want of right in the neutral, when they proceed to contend, that the trade which they wish to restrain is in substance an interference in the war, and a breach of the duties of neutrality. If this be the case, it ought no doubt to be interdicted upon that footing; but it ought to be clearly understood, at the same time, that this is the ground on which it is objected to; and that all that is wanting for its justification, is to shew that it does not assist the one belligerent, nor distress the other, in such a way as is inconsistent with the strict duties of neutrality.

Now, upon this head, we are inclined to hold, that the assistance or obstruction to which this description applies, must bear a direct reference to the hostile efforts of the two belligerents, and that the neutral character will not be violated merely by carrying on trade with one of them, in such a way as to give him a share of its commercial advantages, while the other is obstructed in nothing but its general desire to impoverish the traders of the enemy. To relieve a place which is blockaded, is a direct interference with a specific act of hostility, and tends to defeat a scheme of annoyance which is then in the course of execution. It is therefore interdicted by the law of nations, as an evident transgression of the duties of neutrality. To carry arms or warlike stores, in like manner, to a nation whose means of attack or defence must depend in a great measure on the possession of such articles, has a direct and immediate effect to alter the fortune of the war, and is nearly as palpable an interference in it, as to give or to lend to one party a supply of soldiers or sailors. All traffic with a belligerent, in such articles, has accordingly been prohibited; and the right of seizing contraband of war, been recognized from time immemorial. But it has, for as long, been thought lawful for a neutral to trade freely with a belligerent in every other article, and to buy and sell with him upon terms of mutual profit and advantage; nor has it ever been pretended that this trade was illegal, merely because it was a source of emolument to the belligerent as well as to the neutral, and in this way interfered eventually with his enemy's lawful endeavours to bring him to a submission, by cutting off all his resources and means of revenue. In this point of view, however, it is evident that there is no room for distinguishing between the colonial trade of a belligerent and any other trade which may be carried on between him and a neutral. The belligerent has a profit by both, and is thus enabled to carry on the war with undiminished resources, while the enemy's views of impoverishment are obstructed by means of the neutral. It can make no difference to either party, whether the neutral buys wine in the ports of the mother country,

country, or rum in those of her colonies. The assistance which he gives to one belligerent, and the consequent obstruction he occasions to the views of the other, are the same in both cases; and if the one trade be undoubtedly lawful, it will not be easy to shew that the other is not.

These are the general principles upon which we are inclined to go to issue with the author of this publication. The reasons upon which they are founded will be better understood when we have considered more particularly the grounds upon which he has rested his opposite conclusions.

Though the pamphlet is certainly written with great ability, and the author is abundantly perspicuous in most of his particular statements, we will confess that we have been at some loss to discover the precise ground upon which he is disposed to justify the rule of the war 1756. He quotes with vehement approbation a passage, which we have already given entire, from a judgment of Sir W. Scott, in which, if we do not mistake, the trade in question is condemned, chiefly as being in the nature of a direct interference with our lawful hostilities against the enemies' colonies; but while he affects to coincide with the learned judge in this view of the question, it is evident, we think, that our author has himself laid but little stress on that consideration, and rather seems inclined to infer the illegality of the trade from the circumstances of its being beneficial to the enemy, and not having been open to the neutral in time of peace. These considerations, we conceive to be quite separate in their own nature, and to require therefore a distinct investigation.

The principle laid down by Sir W. Scott, in the passage already quoted, seems shortly to be this;—The colonies of an enemy are natural objects of hostility, and may with certainty be reduced and captured, if supplies can be cut off from them: 'If a belligerent, therefore, chooses to apply his means to this object, no neutral has a right to step in and prevent its execution.' Now this, it is evident, is resting the argument upon the supposition of an actual interference with a scheme of direct hostility;—the plea is, that the neutral has no right to obstruct a belligerent actually employed in the reduction of his enemies' colonies. The principle cannot be disputed; but, with all submission to the learned person referred to, it does not appear to apply to the fact of the case. \*

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\* We hope it is unnecessary for us to say, that in spite of the liberty we have here taken with the reasonings imputed to him, we entertain in common with all who have ever looked into the record of his decisions, the most unfeigned veneration and respect for the penetrating sagacity, profound judgment, and unblemished integrity of Sir William Scott.

We are *not* now engaged in reducing the colonies of the enemy :— we have *not* ‘ chosen to apply our means to that object : ’—we have no thoughts of taking from the enemy the islands of Cuba and St Domingo, or the vast continent of South America :—we have never proposed to possess ourselves of those places, nor pretended to blockade or invest the other colonies of our enemies. Our complaint is not, that these colonies are withheld from us in consequence of assistance illegally rendered by neutrals to places in a state of siege ; we complain merely, that their produce is withdrawn from our capture, by being sold to neutrals on the spot : and whatever may be the validity of this complaint, it seems to be certain, that the reasons said to have been assigned in the Court of Admiralty, are wholly and entirely inapplicable to the admitted circumstances of the case. This seems also to be the opinion of the author before us ; for, though he pronounces a warm eulogium on the doctrine which he quotes from the reports, he has certainly made no attempt to enforce or support it, and rests his own reasonings upon a foundation altogether independent. The only passage in which he appears to borrow any thing from the argument of Sir W. Scott, is, where he talks of the colonial trade being ‘ set up within the lists of war,’ and subject to hostility of course, by whatever hands it may be carried on. These are metaphorical expressions which seem to have no precise meaning. For our own part, at least, we do not understand how any possession of the enemy can be so set within the lists of war, except by the known and established course of blockade ;—that it is liable to be  
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Scott. Bound, as he seems to have conceived himself, by the terms of the Royal instructions as the rule of his judgment, it was natural for him to seek to justify to his own mind the principle of those instructions ; and if they were not capable of being justified, it is not wonderful that he should have been misled. It is to be observed, also, that there is reason for suspecting that our long habit of maritime superiority has produced in this country a very general insensibility to the rights of those to whose situation it never occurs to us that we may be reduced. The secure possession of power gives a prodigious bias to our moral judgments in every question which relates to its exercise. We easily satisfy ourselves that we have a right to do all that we have the desire, the power, and the habit of doing ; and can rarely bring ourselves to take a fair view of those claims which we know cannot be enforced against us. There are innumerable instances of this dangerous illusion. It was with the utmost difficulty, that even the most liberal and enlightened of the old Noblesse could be made to feel and understand the rights and claims of their inferiors ; and in our own country, to take a narrower instance, it is astonishing how hard it is to convince the common people that there is any sin in plundering a wreck that is thrown unprotected into their hands.

attacked, certainly affords no reason for declaring it unlawful for neutrals to interfere with it.

The author's own reasonings, however, depend upon a different principle. The enemy is benefited by this trade of neutrals with his colonies; and it is a trade to which the neutral had no access in time of peace. These two circumstances taken together, are sufficient, he seems to think, to entitle us to repress this trade as illegal. We have an interest to do so, because we shall thus harass and annoy our enemy; and we are not barred from pursuing this interest; because the neutral, after he is interdicted from this trade, will be no worse than he was in time of peace. The interest we have already admitted;—the right, we think extremely questionable. In point of fact, we deny that the neutral, if interdicted from this trade in time of war, would be in as good a situation as in time of peace; and, in point of principle, we contend that, even if it were otherwise, the nature of the benefit to be gained by us from enforcing this rule, is not such as to entitle us to prevent the neutral from *improving* his condition by rejecting it.

It is perfectly plain, at first sight, that the condition of the neutral, who is prevented from trading to the colonies of a belligerent during war, is incomparably worse than his situation while excluded from that trade during peace. In peace, the colonial proprietor brought his produce to the neutral in his own bottoms, and supplied him with as much of it as he chose to buy, either for his own consumption, or for exportation. In war, at least in the wars which give occasion to this question, the colonial proprietor cannot send a ship to sea; and the neutral must either go for the produce which he has occasion for, or be entirely deprived of the commodity. It is needless to enlarge on a consideration so obvious and important. The products of an enemy's colony may sometimes be such as to be indispensable to the comfort, or even to the existence of some other nation. If the proprietors are prevented by war from exporting them according to their usual colonial regulations, will it be said that the neutral shall be altogether deprived of his necessary supply, because, truly, he cannot now obtain it, without engaging, himself, in a trade which was not open to him in time of peace? It is mere quibbling and mockery to say, that, by such a prohibition, he is not put in a worse situation than before; and it would evidently be the height of injustice to subject him to this grievous disadvantage, merely that the weaker belligerent might be a little more distressed in his general commercial speculations. The difference between being excluded by the owner of the colony in time of peace, and by his enemy in time of war, is, that, in the former case, the neutral gets the produce as plen-

tifully and cheaply as if he were not excluded ; and that, in the latter, he cannot get it at all. If he is entitled, therefore, to be put really and substantially on the same footing as to his trade (that is, his buying and selling) to those colonies as before the war, it is evident that he must now be allowed to go to those that cannot come to him, and to carry on, in the ports of the colony, that ancient and accustomed trade which was formerly transacted on the shores of his own country.

It has probably been from some feeling of the obvious and essential equity of such an allowance, that, except in the single case of 1756, we have never pretended to interdict the direct trade of a neutral between the colony of an enemy and his own mother country. This exception, though founded upon such obvious equity, our author is pleased to consider as a voluntary and imprudent indulgence ; and our readers will recollect, that it is the sole object of his work to persuade Government to recal it, and to return to the unqualified prohibition of all neutral intercourse with our enemies' colonies. The exception, we have seen, rests upon the fair rights of neutrality, and upon those views of obvious and indisputable equity which are the foundation of the law of nations. It is totally inconsistent, at the same time, with the general principle advanced by us in the war 1756, and is therefore decisive of the general question as to the equity of that principle. Even with regard to the carrying trade between hostile colonies and the other parts of the world, it does not appear to us that the neutral is fairly dealt with, if he is entirely excluded from it in time of war, by the arms of the opposite belligerent. In peace, he was enabled to buy the colonial produce in his own ports for exportation, as well as for manufacture or home consumption ; and it must frequently have happened, that the greater part was purchased with the former destination. If, in time of war, he is not allowed to export this same produce, as usual, from the place of purchase, he is plainly in a much worse situation than in time of peace.

Let it be supposed, however, that the trade about which he is disputing is in a great measure a new trade, and that he is confessedly endeavouring to take advantage of the war to enlarge and extend his commercial speculations much farther than he could expect to have done in time of peace, the question still remains, whether this be an illegal attempt, or whether the interest we have in opposing it be of a nature to justify our forcible interference. It will not be denied, that it is in general sufficiently laudable for a nation to aim at extending its trade ; and if the existence of war affords certain facilities in this respect to those which remain neutral, it cannot be illegal in them to avail themselves of them ; nor can the belligerents interfere to prevent them, except they can  
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shew that they are giving partial aid to the enemy, and interfering directly with an existing scheme of hostility. Now, we humbly conceive, that the neutrals, by engaging in the colony trade, are not chargeable with any such interference; and that their accession to it may be justified, both by the analogy of other cases, which are no longer the subject of dispute, and by the general principles to which all such cases may be referred.

The general principle upon which the author declares against the legality of this trade, is, that it tends to enrich the enemy, and that it was not carried on by the neutral in peace. Now, if this be a sufficient ground of condemnation, it must follow that every trade is illegal into which a neutral enters with a belligerent for the first time during war; and that it is absolutely unlawful to throw any part of the traffic formerly carried on by the belligerent into neutral hands. In opposition to this maxim, however, it will be easy to shew, that, upon the breaking out of a war, neutrals have always been permitted to take up many branches of trade that were formerly in the hands of the belligerents, and that their right to carry them on has never been disputed, upon the ground of the security or profit derived therefrom to the enemy.

There are a variety of branches of trade in which this must occur invariably in every war between two maritime and commercial nations. In the first place, there is the trade between the two belligerents themselves. This, of course, in its direct and original state, is altogether destroyed and suspended by the war; but if the nations have a mutual and permanent demand for the products of each other's territory, the traffic will infallibly go on as formerly; and the only difference will be, that the trade which was formerly conducted by the ships and sailors of the belligerents, will now fall wholly into the hands of neutrals. This is in all respects a new trade to the neutral, and an addition to his former trade, arising entirely out of the war. It is productive likewise of profit and emolument to the belligerent, and ought therefore to be condemned as unlawful, according to the doctrine of the writer now under consideration. But this is by no means the only new trade into which neutrals are uniformly admitted without challenge in the course of a maritime war: A very considerable part of the general trade of the belligerents passes naturally into their hands. In time of peace, a maritime nation carries a great part of its exports to the foreign purchaser, and brings home in its own vessels a great part of its imports. As soon as it engages in war, however, it ceases to be profitable for it to do this; the rate of wages and insurance are necessarily raised; and even where it maintains the superiority at sea, the risk and the expense of transportation become considerably greater than when the  
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same commodities are embarked in neutral bottoms. Accordingly, it inevitably happens, that the neutral purchaser finds it for his advantage to come for those goods which the belligerent used formerly to send out to him in her own ships; and the belligerent finds it more convenient that her imports should be brought into her ports by vessels not liable to capture. In this way, a large part of the hostile commerce is naturally transferred to the hands of neutrals, and that for the very purpose of avoiding the risk of capture by an enemy. It was never pretended, however, we believe, upon any side, to condemn this new trade as unlawful. Even in our own ports, it is probable there are now more than double the number of neutral vessels that found business there in time of peace; and in those of France and Spain, the number is increased tenfold. They there deliver the produce of their own and other foreign countries, and take on board the commodities of the hostile territory, to distribute in all those markets to which they were formerly carried in a great measure by the ships of the enemy which they have superseded. Yet this new war trade between the neutral and the enemy, we do not so much as pretend to find fault with, or to denounce as beyond the rights of neutrality.

The new neutral trade with the colonies, we conceive, however, is not to be distinguished from this new neutral trade with the home ports of the enemy; and the admitted legality of the one is pretty conclusive, therefore, in favour of the legality of the other also. Neutrals were not, perhaps, excluded from the former, during peace, by any positive laws or prohibitions; but they were excluded, in point of fact, as effectually, by the disadvantages of their situation, and the natural predilection of the belligerent for his own traders. It is equally certain and undeniable, therefore, as in the case of the colonies, that it was a new trade which they acquired in consequence of the war, and that it is destined to revert to the belligerent as soon as peace shall have removed those disadvantages which now give the preference to the neutral. Now, as these are the very circumstances which are pleaded upon as grounds for excluding neutrals from the colony trade, it is obvious that the plea is effectually answered by reference to this unchallenged new trade with the mother country. It is to no purpose to say that the innovation here is only in degree, and that the colonial trade is new in kind to the neutral. This is a distinction altogether irrelevant to the matter in dispute. It is a fact as palpable as the transference of her colonial trade, that the whole home trade of France is now gone into the hands of neutrals. By this arrangement she is benefited, and her enemies disappointed in their hopes of captures and their views of impoverishment,

as effectually at least as by the change in her colonial system. If the one be recognized as legal, it does not appear upon what grounds it is possible to impeach the other as contrary to the law of nations.

These cases of the new home trade between neutrals and belligerents, generated by the war, and depending upon it for its continuance, appear to us so exactly parallel to that of the colonial trade in question, that it is not necessary to pursue the investigation any further. It is well known, however, that nothing is more common than to relax special prohibitions in behalf of neutrals, upon the breaking out of a war; and that we ourselves, whose necessities in this way cannot be supposed very urgent, have frequently invited them to a share of our trade, by opening free ports abroad, and reducing duties which had been imposed to secure our monopoly at home. We never heard that the new trade, which was opened to the neutrals by these devices, was considered in any quarter as illegal, or that any attempt was ever made by our enemies to make prize of the vessels employed in it.

It thus appears that there is nothing in the analogy of the law of nations, as fixed by the uniform practice of maritime countries, which can justify the condemnation of this war trade between the colonies of a belligerent, and the neutral nations in her neighbourhood. On the contrary, it appears that, in cases which, in point of principle, can scarcely be distinguished from that before us, the long established usage of nations has recognized the legality of such intercourse, and confirmed the free enjoyment of it as one of the most undisputed privileges of neutrality. A very slight consideration of the equitable principles on which the practice has been founded in those analogous and undisputed cases, will satisfy us that the conclusion may be extended with perfect confidence to that which is now in discussion.

The enemy is clearly benefited by the admission of neutrals to the home trade which he carried on himself in time of peace; his commerce is relieved from the pressure of our hostilities; he is made, in a great measure, independent of our naval superiority; we are disappointed in our hope of captures, and obstructed in our lawful endeavours to bring him to terms by cutting off the sources of his revenue. Why should we not be permitted, therefore, to prevent this interference of the neutrals? why is it that we are obliged to walk quietly on the decks of our cruisers, and see thousands of Danes and Americans busily employed in a trade which fills the coffers of our enemy, and covering with their flag a commerce, which, but for this interference, would become the prey of our triumphant navy? The answer is short and obvious; and it is decisive, in our apprehension, of the whole controversy.

controversy. We are restrained from annoying our enemy by interfering with this trade, from a regard to the neutrals for whose joint profit it is carried on, and whose interests in its continuance is more considerable, and more favoured in the eyes of the great confederation of nations, than our interest in its suppression. This is the ultimate and true reason why a belligerent is not permitted to interrupt that neutral trade with his enemy, by which his hostilities are rendered in some degree inefficient. The question comes, as we have already intimated it would do, to a balance of advantages and disadvantages; and the law of nations has decided in favour of the neutral in all the branches of the home trade. We are not aware that there are any circumstances by which the balance can be affected, or the decision varied, in the trade of the colonies.

There is a clashing of rights here, and a collision of interests, which can only be adjusted by balancing and comparing together the total amount of equity and expediency that each may be found to involve. Every independent nation has a natural right to trade with all that chuse to trade with them, and to repel the pretensions of any third party to limit this freedom of intercourse. In pursuance of this right, however, it is not permitted to interfere with the actual hostility of a nation at war, nor to obstruct its endeavours to get the better of its opponent. On the other hand, a nation at war has a natural right to harass and disable the enemy, by cutting off his resources, and drying up the fountains of his revenue; but, in pursuit of this object, it is not entitled to interrupt the trade, or interfere with the property of a nation unconcerned in the war. These two rights, therefore, reciprocally limit each other; and are apt sometimes to be so placed in opposition, as to make it a matter of some difficulty to determine which should give way. The principle adopted in practice, which is abundantly favourable to the belligerent, seems to be, that, where the trade of the neutral is calculated, directly and immediately, to affect the actual state and depending measures of hostility, it shall be lawful for the belligerent to suppress it as an illegal interference in the war; but that it shall not be challenged, merely because it may happen indirectly to strengthen or support one of the combatants, by recruiting his finances. When a neutral is captured for attempting to enter a blockaded port, it is because his success would have an immediate effect in defeating that expensive and laborious measure of hostility; and it is thought equitable, in this case, to sacrifice the natural freedom of the neutral, to the temporary, but urgent interest of the belligerent. There is no proportion here, between the injury that might be done by allow-  
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ing the blockade to be broken, and that which is done by depriving the neutral, for the time of that particular market. In like manner, when a neutral is captured carrying arms or ammunition to a nation at war, it is because the commodity is likely to be employed immediately to the great prejudice of the captors; and because the landing of that one cargo may often be decisive of the fortunes of a whole campaign. In this case also, the interest of the belligerent is very direct and urgent; and the injury which he is likely to suffer, by allowing the neutral to proceed, is infinitely greater than can be sustained by interdicting the neutral, for the time, from this very limited branch of traffic.

The case is otherwise, however, when a neutral is found trading for ordinary commodities to the ports of a nation at war; supplying them with cloth or sugar, or carrying away their rum, hardware, or wines. In this case it is decided, (at least in the home trade), that the belligerent has no right to interfere with this trade, nor to capture the vessels employed in it; and indeed it is obvious, that the injury done to the neutral by stopping it, would be out of all proportion greater than that which the belligerent can suffer by allowing it to go on. The only injury which the belligerent can be said to suffer from it is, that it serves to maintain the general internal prosperity of the enemy's country, and enables him to carry on the war with more vigour, by accumulating more riches in the hands of individuals as the subjects of taxation. How remote and feeble this interest is, with a view to the instant and depending measures of hostility, it is needless to point out. No one act of buying or selling in such a trade, can have the least effect on the fortunes of a campaign, or even of a single skirmish; and the aggregated result of the whole, promises only to influence the war through the medium of a distant futurity, to which it may not be protracted, and through a series of internal changes, no part of which comes within the common range of public hostility. On the other hand, if the trade is to be interdicted, the most valuable products, perhaps of a whole quarter of the world, are to be locked up from the use and enjoyment of mankind, and innumerable multitudes to be deprived of conveniences and comforts to which they have been long habituated: a great range of neutral nations is not only to suffer, for an indefinite time, this general privation of enjoyment, but to be excluded from the profits of a trade, which is lost to the world by this measure of severity, and in which, perhaps, a large portion of their capital was formerly invested; and all this loss is to be sustained by mankind, without any equivalent or corresponding gain. It is to be sustained by nations who have no  
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concern in the quarrel, in order that one of the combatants may be eventually hampered in his financial operations; and that the other may keep up the spirits of his sailors by occasional captures, and indulge his commercial jealousy, under the pretext of following out a legitimate warfare. In balancing together the good and the evil to be produced by this restriction, the common sense and common equity of mankind has decided, without hesitation, against its adoption; and the trade of neutrals with belligerents has been declared free by the law of nations.

Almost the whole of those general considerations apply to the trade of the colonies as well as to that of the mother country. The general loss to mankind by its suppression would be the same, and the remoteness and uncertainty of the benefit to the opposite belligerent. If it be said that the commercial loss to the neutral is not now to be reckoned on, because he was already excluded from this trade during peace, we have already shewn, that this exclusion was infinitely less severe than that which it is proposed to substitute in time of war;—that it was, in fact, an exclusion only from the *first carrying* of the colonial produce, while what is properly called the trade in it was left free, and a plentiful supply furnished both for consumption and for exportation, to all the neutrals in the world. A merchant in Philadelphia might then order as many cargoes of coffee, or cotton, or sugar, as he thought proper, from the French or Spanish settlements, and might export or dispose of them in any way he found advantageous: the only restriction was, that they must be first brought to Philadelphia in a Spanish or French vessel. By the war, however, all Spanish and French vessels are absolutely and entirely confined to their ports; and if the American is not permitted to go for his coffee and cotton, he must want it altogether, or, at any rate, obtain it precariously at an enormous advance of price. Is it possible to maintain, therefore, that he loses nothing by the war, or that he would be no more excluded at present by the rule 1756 than he was by the monopoly of the mother country in time of peace? The fact is, that a very considerable trade was always carried on by the Americans in distributing, to the northern nations especially, the products of the Spanish and French colonies; and from this trade they will be entirely excluded, if it were possible to suppose that the rule of 1756 should ever again be enforced.

But even if the whole trade to which this controversy relates, were to be considered as a new trade, and a free addition to the former commerce of the neutral, still, it may be asked, if he suffers no injury by being restrained by a third party from entering upon the beneficial traffic that is held out to him by its proprietors? Is it no misfortune  
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to a nation, or to mankind at large, that the means of improvement are cut off, and a people struggling for advancement forcibly withheld in their career of prosperity. Has America no right to complain if she is prevented from engaging in a trade by which her capital would be accumulated, her wastes cultivated, and her population increased? As an independent state, she has a right to enter into any trade, whether new or old, that is not in itself illegal upon the principles of the law of nations. *We* have nothing to do with the circumstances or motives which induced another country to open its ports to her;—before we can interfere, we must be able to shew, that the trade is, in itself, a violation of the duties of neutrality, and that it ought to be repressed as inflicting upon us a greater and more immediate injury than the neutral can suffer by its suppression. If we can shew this, we shall be entitled to proscribe the trade, whether it be anciently or newly established. If we cannot shew this, we cannot interfere with it, without transgressing the law of nations, and violating the rights of neutrality. In point of influence on the war, however, the colonial trade is exactly on the footing of the home trade of the enemy; as to which no question is stirred. It is only distinguished from it by its novelty; and this, we contend, for the reasons now given, is a consideration altogether foreign to the argument. If it were not, it is decided by the case of the new home trade of the enemy, which is parallel at all points to that which we would interdict in his colonies.

Upon the whole, then, we conceive that the rule of the war 1756 is not agreeable to the analogy of any rule universally received as part of the law of nations, or to those views of general expediency and justice in which this law has its foundation; and that its unqualified revival at this moment would be a measure of which the neutral nations would be fairly entitled to complain.

After spending so much time in the discussion of the question of *right*, we can afford but a few words on the probable *efficacy* or *prudence* of the measure suggested by this author.

As to the efficacy of the measure, the assertion of the rule 1756 would probably have the effect of multiplying, for a while, our captures in the Western sea, and of raising the price of the colonial produce all over the world. We do not conceive, however, that it would ultimately take the trade out of the hands of the neutrals, or even materially diminish their profits in the conduct of it. Our author will scarcely suppose that the rich products of those colonies should continue to be absolutely locked up, and allowed to rot where they are raised. The enemy, however, cannot export them; and, therefore, they must be taken off by neutrals. Although liable to be captured when detected in the direct voyage to and from the colony,

colony, there must evidently be less risk to a neutral than to an enemy in venturing that voyage. The West India islands lye so near the American coast, that, except at the very extremities of the voyage, it would be easy for a trader of that country to conceal his real destination, while a Frenchman would be liable to capture during the whole run. The trade, therefore, will remain in the hands of the neutrals;—they will receive their neutralizing commission as regularly as before; and the colonial owners will insure in London, and pay themselves out of the pockets of the consumers and of our own underwriters, for the occasional losses sustained by our cruisers and privateers.

The author before us demonstrates, by his own statements, how inventive and ingenious men become in the pretexts and devices by which they are to evade the hazards of a gainful undertaking; and has stated, in very strong language, the hopelessness of any attempt to suppress or alter that channel of commerce which is naturally pointed out by the wants and habits of mankind. Speaking of the commercial inconveniences which might arise from a war with the neutrals, he says,

‘It is asked, “who would afterwards carry our manufactures to market?” I answer, our allies, our fellow subjects, our old and new enemies themselves. In the last war, nothing prevented the supplying of Spanish America with British manufactures, in British bottoms, even when they were liable to confiscation by both the belligerent parties for the act, but that the field of commerce was preoccupied, and the markets glutted by the importations under neutral flags.

“But would I advise a toleration of these new modes of relieving the hostile colonies?” Its toleration would not be necessary. Even your own hostilities would not be able to overcome the expansive force of your own commerce, when delivered from the unnatural and ruinous competition of its present privileged enemies. You might often capture the carriers of it, and condemn their cargoes; but the effect would chiefly be, to raise the price upon the enemy, and the difference would go into the purses of your seamen. The prize goods themselves, would find their way from your colonies into the hostile territories.’  
p. 205–6.

And, again, after ridiculing the notion, that commodities actually consumed in a commercial country can ever be effectually excluded from it; he concludes,

‘For all this, I might have more briefly appealed to the first principles of commercial science. I might have appealed even to the impotent attempts of France in the last and present war. I might further support myself by the fact, that in the utmost latitude given to neutral commerce in the colonies of Spain, there was an express and anxious exception of British merchandize, which was almost wholly without effect. But the intelligent reader will dispense with all such arguments.

He may not, indeed, be able to foresee clearly what will be the new channels of our trade, when the old are forcibly obstructed; but he can look down on the level below, the regions of the existing demand and consumption, and be certain that there the stream will soon meet his eye again, in spite of the new artificial mounds and embankments.' p. 210.

We do not know that we could have found any where an argument more conclusive against the supposed efficacy of the rule 1756, in destroying the colonial trade of the enemy.

With regard to the prudence of the measure, we humbly conceive, that in spite of all that our author has said upon the subject, very little doubt can be entertained with regard to it. It is not pleasant to be obliged to compromise our just rights from a cautious calculation of consequences, or to abstain from an effectual remedy, on account of the dangers of obtaining it. Such, however, is the conduct which is occasionally prescribed to all nations in the different conjunctures of political relations; and such is the conduct which we think would be prescribed to this country, even if she were perfectly satisfied with the reasonings of this author as to the efficacy of the remedy he recommends, and as to her own right to make use of it. It is a consolation to us, however, that we have been able to persuade ourselves, at least, that the course of conduct from which we are debarred at any rate by our political situation, is one which we could not justly adopt if it were free to us, and one from which no very beneficial consequences could be expected if it were to be adopted.

Our limits will no longer permit us to enter into the grounds of the very decided opinion which we have formed as to the imprudence of provoking the hostility of the few neutrals that are now left around us, by the unqualified assertion of the rule 1756. They will be easily anticipated by any one who attends to the subject; and are not at all obviated, or indeed distinctly noticed, by the author before us, in what he has written on this branch of the argument. There is one point, however, upon which we entirely agree with him; and it is one of a very consolatory nature, in the present unsettled state of our commercial relations. A war with America would be fully more unfavourable for that country than for this; and we have therefore every reasonable ground for hoping that our differences will be amicably adjusted, and that both parties will be willing to recede a little from their pretensions, rather than recur to a measure which can be beneficial only to our great enemy.

Although the views which we have been led to take of the general privileges of the neutral traffic, have forced us to condemn



the whole principle of the rule 1756, and to conclude in favour of an unlimited trade with the colonies of the enemy, we are by no means prepared to say, that, in practice, there should be no limitation. The facts and cases detailed by the author before us, have satisfied us completely, that a great part of the produce exported from those settlements is truly the property of the enemy, and is carried to market, under a false neutral name, on their account. This property is, therefore, a fair object of hostility; and we are not only entitled to inquire very narrowly into the evidence of neutrality by which it is guarded, but also, as it appears to us, to proceed in many cases upon the general presumption arising from the nature of the voyage undertaken. The direct trade, for instance, between the colony and the mother country to which it belongs—that trade which comes in place of the supplies and remittances interchanged in time of peace between the proprietors and their agents or factors—can scarcely be presumed to be converted all at once into a genuine neutral trade of foreign adventurers buying and selling upon the mere chance of a market; and in a department where it seems impossible to dispute that a great deal of simulation and fraud is admitted, no great injustice will be done, probably, by disallowing one whole class of transactions that stand in other respects in a very suspicious predicament. In this view of the matter, indeed, we do not see that the neutrals would have any cause to complain, although the subsisting instructions should be retained, and their commerce with the hostile colonies restricted to the direct trade with their respective mother countries. It is an argument of some weight, that, in the most favourable times of peace, all the produce of these colonies which they exported, were first landed in their own territories; and considering the vast amount of the hostile trade which they unquestionably carry on under false and fraudulent pretences, it is probably no more than a fair compensation to limit their neutral traffic a little more than might be justifiable upon strict principle in the case of unsuspected persons.

With regard to the forgery and perjury of which our author complains in terms of such vehement lamentation, we are afraid that, upon our present system of proceeding, there is no prospect of an immediate remedy. False witnesses, we fear, will always be produced in requisite quantities, whenever there is an effectual demand for it, and the profits are considerably higher than the temporal risks of the delinquent. A few trials for perjury might perhaps quicken the consciences of witnesses in our courts of prize: and, at all events, we do not see why those enlightened tribunals should not take upon them to decide according to their own conviction of the truth, rather than according to depositions which  
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are said to be universally disbelieved ; and thus give a check to practices which will certainly be continued as long as they are found to be effectual.

ART. II. *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia.* By J. Griffiths, M.D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and of several Foreign Literary Societies. 4to. pp. 396. London, 1805.

THE extreme partiality of our countrymen for travelling, is a subject which has often excited the surprise of foreigners. It would not be easy, perhaps, to explain the causes of this propensity ; but there can be little doubt of the fact, that it exists among the English in a greater degree than among any other people. At the close of every term, our universities send forth their raw productions to be exported in abundance to the Continent ; and no sooner is the season of fashionable gayety concluded in London, than the roads are covered with *tourists* and *travellers*, who issue from the metropolis in every direction. Some, who are contented with the humblest portion of itinerary fame, record their delights and their dangers in an excursion to the Isle of Wight, or to the mountains of Wales ; others, better directed, or more courageous, explore the wilds of our beloved Scotland, and risk their safety on the shores of the Hebrides ; while others, still more ambitious, cross the tempestuous channel, trust their persons to Hibernian post-chaises, and wade for pleasure, or for glory, through the bogs of Ireland. Such are the usual expeditions of our summer travellers ; but we want not for numbers who have visited the principal countries of the European continent, and who have related whatever they saw or heard, with so much variety of style, and with so much minuteness of detail, that they have scarcely left any thing new, to be either said or sung, from Petersburg to Naples. Many have extended their researches to the remotest quarters of the globe ; and if the renown of travellers were to be measured out according to the number of miles which they have trodden, we could justly boast of some who would be entitled to an extraordinary portion of reputation. It is to be observed, however, that since the custom of travelling over vast tracts of land has become more common, ingenious men have fallen upon various ingenious devices to attract the attention of the public to their own peregrinations. One gentleman has distinguished himself by having *walked* over a considerable portion of the habitable globe ;

globe; another still boasts, that he advanced one verst farther into the deserts of Siberia than has yet been achieved by any other traveller; a third excited some curiosity in one of the hottest countries of Europe, by the aid of a curious device on his card, which announced, that he had just arrived from the borders of the frozen ocean; and a fourth with matchless rigidity of fibre, and heroic disregard of inconvenience, actually made the *grand tour* without once leaning back in his carriage during the whole journey. When travellers choose to publish, however, we cannot, in honesty, encourage them to hope that such expedients as these will avail them much. He who first points out any thing remarkable or characteristic, in the laws, manners, and opinions, even of a barbarous nation, not only adds to our stock of general information, but gives us views of human nature, in situations in which we have not been accustomed to consider it. Should he describe men in civilized life, and instruct us in the proficiency of another country in the arts and sciences, in commerce and manufactures, we ought to thank him for, at least, collecting materials for the philosopher, the historian, and the political economist. If he make important additions to our knowledge in natural history, or correct material errors in our geography, or confirm by practical proofs the conclusions of science, his claims to notice will be readily allowed. Finally, the scholar and the antiquary will not refuse their tribute of applause to him who brings fresh and accurate tidings from those regions which the classical genius of antiquity has rendered so interesting to men of taste and literature. But when a traveller excites attention in none of these ways, it will avail him little, that he has crossed the burning deserts of Syria and Arabia during the dog-days; that he points out the course of his extensive wanderings by the help of a zig-zag line which traverses half the map of the world; or that he presents to readers, who never heard of him before, a smart portrait of himself, prefixed to a quarto volume.

Dr Griffiths, the author of the volume before us, relates in it the history of his travels from England to Italy, thence to Constantinople, thence to Smyrna, thence to Aleppo, and, finally, across the desert to Bassorah. Before we follow him in this extensive career, we must stop to take notice of some information which he gives us in his preface. 'In the rapidity of pursuit,' says he, 'I fear I have frequently overlooked those proofs which might have thrown a new and important light on subjects already treated of, with more or less accuracy, by literary pens; and from a necessitated adoption of the means and opportunities of proceeding towards the places of my destination,

I have as frequently been compelled to abandon, prematurely and unexamined, even those objects which had not escaped my notice.' This language cannot be considered as very encouraging to those who might hope for much accuracy from Dr Griffiths. 'Let me be allowed to state,' he says, 'that I travelled through great part of the Ottomaun dominions in the humble disguise of a poor Greek; not under the protection of janissaries, the influence of ambassadors, or the authority of a Firmaun.' It is obvious, however, that this very circumstance might have enabled him to acquire considerable knowledge of the Turkish character, although in a manner sufficiently disagreeable; and it was, accordingly, chiefly in his disguise of a Greek slave, that Dr Griffiths collected the additional information concerning Turkey, which we have obtained from the perusal of his book.

The author informs us, that he embarked at Gravesend in June 1785 for the Mediterranean. He relates various circumstances which took place during this voyage, and which, considering the subsequent adventures of his life, it may be creditable to his memory that he has not forgotten, though it be not quite so much so to his judgement that he has chosen to record. He tells us with something of unnecessary minuteness, of the altercations which took place between the captain and the pilots; how he crossed the Bay of Biscay, 'where watery mountains precluded all hopes of tranquillity;' how, 'within the dividing shores of Europe and Africa, he amused himself with fishing for *bonito*;' and how, 'when successful, he feasted upon his prize; prudently pickling or salting such parts as were judged to be worth preserving.' Some readers may not think, that this learned traveller has added much to their stock of knowledge, when he proceeds to tell them, that, in the island of Alboran, he found birds' nests with eggs in them.

After an agreeable passage of three weeks, our traveller landed at Nice.

As he had warned us, in his preface, that he meant to confine his remarks on Italy to a few pages, we must not complain of his brevity on that subject. He rejoined his vessel at Leghorn, and set sail for Smyrna. The magnificent objects, which presented themselves to his view, as he passed on to the Faro of Messina, naturally made a strong impression on the mind of our traveller; and we can scarcely wonder, that, in describing so delightful a prospect, he should have permitted his prose to run a little wild. 'The *bluff* shore of Italy,' says he, 'against which we seemed to proceed, uniting, as it were, to the *bluffer* promontory at the entrance of the Faro, obliterated all trace of its opening, until a near approach gradually exposed to our inquiring eyes the lovely passage so often mentioned by the classic poets.'

We do not find much novelty in the account which Dr Griffiths has given of Smyrna. From that city he took his departure in a Turkish boat for Constantinople. A gale of wind coming on compelled him to land near Temnos, where he had the opportunity of witnessing the funeral of a Mussulmaun. One part of the ceremony was singular enough. As soon as the grave was filled up, each friend planted a sprig of cypress on the right, and another on the left hand of the deceased. It was understood, it seems, that should the sprigs on the right hand grow, the deceased would enjoy the happiness promised by Mahomet to all true believers; but should those on the opposite side flourish, he would for ever be excluded from tasting bliss in the arms of the *Houris*. If both succeeded, he would be greatly favoured in the next world; and if both failed, he would be tormented by black angels, until he should be rescued from them by the mediation of the Prophet. 'These opinions of a rustic,' says Dr Griffiths, 'are not mentioned as those which generally prevail amongst Mussulmauns, but merely to shew that vulgar and local prejudices are not confined to the ignorant and superstitious of any particular country. Similar effects have been produced in all, by the fears, apprehensions, and confused notions which have been entertained of a future life.'

To say any thing new in a description of Constantinople, would not now be easy; and after so many able pens have been employed on the subject, it might even be difficult to say any thing well. Dr Griffiths, however, has not been deterred, by these considerations, from indulging his desire of retracing 'the various objects which presented themselves to his enchanted sight.' We give him credit for the general accuracy of his account, and agree with him in suspecting the truth of the descriptions which have been sometimes given with so much confidence of the interior of the seraglio. Speaking of the frequent fires which take place at Constantinople, he remarks, that the Sultan is expected to attend, and that he is then exposed to hear various truths which could not easily come to his knowledge without such opportunities. Our traveller further observes, 'that fires have frequently their origin in the political disputes of parties, or the hopes of redress in cases of peculiar grievance.' It gives us no very elevated notion of Turkish wisdom to learn, that when any body at Constantinople is discontented with the government, he seeks redress by burning down his house about his ears.

Amongst the officers of artillery, Dr Griffiths was introduced to the Ghumbaragee Bashee, whose assumed name was Mustaphah, but who, we are delighted to find, was originally a Scotch gentleman of the name of Campbell. He had been obliged, from  
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some unfortunate circumstances, to quit his native country, had entered into the Turkish service, and had abjured the faith of his fathers. 'Let me not, however,' says Dr Griffiths, 'attract the attention of my readers to his errors; let me rather dwell upon the amiableness of his disposition, the urbanity of his manners, and the various accomplishments of his well-informed mind.' It was in the society of this gentleman, that our author was present, when several officers of state were convened to examine a beautiful manuscript copy of the Koran, which General Morrison had brought from India to present to the Sultaun. After the most enthusiastic encomiums had been bestowed upon the manuscript, an old Emeer clasped his hands in a sort of agony, and exclaimed, 'Alas! Alas! how unfortunate! This magnificent copy of the never-to-be-sufficiently admired law of our sacred Prophet is not orthodox—it is the work of a Secretary of Ali!' This distressing circumstance, as might be supposed, filled the whole assembly with regret and consternation.

We shall not enumerate the various topics which have been discussed by our author with respect to the customs and manners of the inhabitants of Constantinople. They are very nearly the same as they were, when they were described by Sandys two hundred years ago. There may be something less of pride, and something more of civilization; but a Turk is still a Turk.

Mr Griffiths professes to treat, in the ninth chapter of his work, of the commerce of the Turks, and of the political situation of the Greeks. These subjects required separate chapters; and would have had them, we suppose, if the materials of the author had not been quite so scanty. He observes, that a duty of three *per cent.* is exacted from foreigners at Smyrna, whilst the natives, a few articles only excepted, pay ten *per cent.* He justly remarks, that this custom is in direct opposition to that established in enlightened nations. He might have added, that, as it had its origin in a total ignorance of the nature and value of commerce, so it has been continued, entirely through the imbecility of the Turkish government. That government, we believe, has made some efforts to alter the *tariffs* at the different *scales*, and has even remonstrated with some other courts on the subject. We have been informed, however, that the new regulations are as little favourable to the natives as the ancient ones. The author's observations on the political situation of the Greeks are sufficiently meagre, and are contained in a couple of pages; yet this is a vast field for inquiry and speculation. 'France,' says Mr Griffiths, 'evidently means to extend her influence to the Morea, and, from the accomplishment of so grand an object, will raise up an enemy to our commercial connexions in the

Levant; the baneful influence of which can be counteracted only by our preserving the strictest amity with the imperial courts of Vienna and St Petersburg.' 'This is amusing. Is the raising up an enemy to our commercial connexions in the Levant, the greatest evil which we should have to dread from the subjugation of Greece by France? What are our annual profits from those connexions? Have certain monopolists ever been able to shew that our whole trade in the Levant amounts in value to one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*? or, will they deny that their monopoly costs government annually a sum of five thousand pounds? Would the destruction of this trade then be of such importance to France; or would it be so detrimental to us, as to induce us to desire, as the author seems to do, that Russia should take possession of the city of Constantinople? We think that the possession of the Morea would, indeed, be a grand object for France; and that the acquiescence of this country in the seizure of Constantinople by the Russians, might, in such a case, admit of consideration; but surely it will never be for the sake of our trade in the Levant, that our statesmen will dread the one event as such an evil, as to require such a remedy as the other. Bonaparte, by having obtained possession of Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles, as it appears he has done by the treaty of Presburgh, sufficiently manifests his designs upon Albania and the Morea. It is to be hoped that those who have it in their power to take measures with other Courts to frustrate such designs, will be fully aware of the importance of these accessions to the ambitious projects of France. They will recollect the vast extent of coast which will be thus obtained for the enemies of our maritime greatness; the ports, the forests, the small shipping, the numerous seamen, which will be thus acquired by our enemy; the new subjects, who will be ready to flock to the standard of Bonaparte from every province of European Turkey; the advantageous positions, whence that daring and restless spirit will be thus enabled to direct fresh attacks against the debilitated remains of the Ottoman empire. Should the master of France and Italy add Albania and the Morea to his dominions, already extending to Catarro, what power can resist him if he choose to march to Constantinople? The conquest of Egypt will be likewise facilitated by the subjugation of Greece; and sooner or later, perhaps, India herself might have to trace her destiny to the overthrow of the Ottoman empire by the arms of this insatiable conqueror.

The account which Dr Griffiths has given of the religion and religious customs of the Turks, does not contain much novelty. It will, however, appear curious to those who have not seen the  
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work of M. D'Ohgson. Dr Griffiths thinks that the Turks entertain the most sublime ideas of the Deity as well as ourselves. It is certainly true that they speak in elevated language of the attributes of God; and that they insist upon his unity, with a zeal that would indicate their very erroneous conviction of this doctrine being peculiar to their own religion. Just suspicions, however, may be entertained, whether any very exalted notions of the divine perfection can be entertained by men, who seriously believe the Koran to be 'the uncreated word of God.' Nothing less than the grossest superstition could induce rational creatures to attribute such a *farrago* of absurdities, so many extravagant fancies, and so many gossipping stories, to the inspiration of the Supreme Mind.

We did not expect from our traveller any very minute account of the differences which exist among the Mahometans upon religious topics. Their disputes about free-will and predestination, (for this eternal question is frequently, though secretly, debated among them), their interpretations of the Koran, and their various versions of it, can have little interest for readers, to whom it is of no consequence to determine, whether the doctrines of the sect of Ali be more or less orthodox, or more or less absurd, than those of the sect of Omar. We could have wished, however, that Dr Griffiths had endeavoured to collect some information concerning that new sect which has lately become so formidable in the East, since the innovations of the Wahabees may be attended with consequences not less fatal to the political than to the religious establishments of the Turks. Their sect had been in existence many years before the arrival of our traveller at Constantinople; and we can hardly suppose him to have been ignorant of this circumstance. By the assistance of a friend who has been in the East, we are enabled to give the following statement, which may be found interesting, and which may tend, in some degree, to supply the deficiency which we have just had occasion to remark in the volume before us.

It is now more than half a century, since Abdal Wahab began to promulgate a new creed in Arabia. His first doctrines probably extended no further than to his own peculiar interpretations of the Koran; and his disciples were confined for several years to a few tribes of the desert. By degrees, however, his opinions became more widely spread; his heresies were easily adopted by the illiterate robbers, whom they encouraged with the hopes of conquest and of pillage; and as he found new followers continually flocking round his standard, it is probable that his enthusiasm grew more enterprising, and his ambition more daring. The design of reforming the old religion of his country,



country, seems to have given place in his mind to that of establishing a new one; while the plunder of pilgrims and caravans, of mosques and cities, fed at once the zeal and the avarice of his disciples. There was, however, for his own purposes at least, no want either of genius or of knowledge in Abdul. Of the first he had enough to plan with wisdom, and to execute with firmness, his schemes for changing the religion of his country; and of the second he possessed a portion fully adequate to convince the Arabs that he best could explain the ordinances of Heaven.

But although the doctrines of the new sect had infected some of the principal hordes, and had many secret partizans throughout Arabia, yet it was not until within these few years, that the Wahabees appeared in arms against the standard of Mahomet, and the authority of the Sultan. When, at last, Abdul found his influence to be so extensive, and his followers so numerous, as to secure to him the attachment of the greater number of the tribes of the desert, he boldly declared himself the reformer of those baneful innovations, which, he pretended, had destroyed the true and genuine character of Islamism. In the year 1803 he advanced with a numerous army against Mecca, took possession of that city, plundered the mosques, and massacred the inhabitants. The Ottoman armies were unable to resist his progress; and he was already advancing to Medina, when the plague and the small-pox broke out in his army, and forced him to retreat with his booty into the desert. It was during his stay at Mecca, that the audacious rebel wrote a letter to the Sultan, in which he reminded him, that the dignity of Caliph only remained to him, while the holy city was protected by him; and that its conquerors now required of him to renounce the title of Commander of the Faithful, which devolved by right upon him to whom God had given the victory.

The success of the Wahabees occasioned the utmost consternation at Constantinople, especially at the Porte, and among the Ulemah; for the full extent of the danger was carefully concealed from the people. No devout Turk could, indeed, be expected to hear, without horror, of the profanation of that most sacred place which gave birth to the Prophet, and which is sanctified in the belief of every true Mussulman. It was besides a subject of most serious alarm to the government, that the authority of the Sultan as Caliph might be questioned, since it is well known that he can retain that name, so imposing for Mahometans, only while he is the master of Mecca and Medina. Nor was this alarm lessened, when the Turkish ministers began to make more exact inquiries into the nature and progress of the evil which it became  
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so necessary to check. Almost all Arabia had openly adopted the religion of Abdul ; it had many secret proselytes in Syria and Anatolia, at Damascus, Aleppo, and Smyrna ; and on the borders of the empire, the Pacha of Bagdad trembled more at the real power of the Wahabees, than at the menaces of the Sultan. Peremptory orders were issued by the Porte to the Pachas of Asia to unite their forces against the rebels. Some of these governors were displaced, to make room for others believed to be more zealous in their attachment to the Porte ; but even these required to be instigated by promises of yet greater rewards, before they could be induced to act with vigour in a cause which involved the existence of their religion, and the honour of their sovereign. The Turkish army approached by slow marches to Mecca, where Abdul had left a garrison of five hundred men. The recapture of the holy city was soon accomplished ; the triumph of the faithful was celebrated at Constantinople ; and the Turkish government recalled its troops, and sunk back into its accustomed tranquillity.

The immediate followers of Abdul were chiefly robbers, who were inured to hardships, and who fled for refuge to the desert, whenever they were defeated in their predatory excursions. The greater part, however, of that numerous army which he led against Mecca, had been collected from almost all the various hordes that wander with their flocks and their camels over Arabia. He had never been at the head of any regular force. The *banditti*, who flocked to the standard of their leader, were attracted by the hopes of plunder ; and though they were impelled by religious enthusiasm, they were easily dispersed by the first appearance of disaster. But when they returned to their independent tribes, they knew that they could possess their spoils without the fear of punishment ; and when the same inducements tempted them to renew their depredations, even the sluggish Divan itself might have foreseen the consequences.

The timid, but cruel, policy of the Turks has never been exhibited in more striking colours than in their late conduct towards the Wahabees, with whom they concluded, what was known, perhaps, on both sides, to be a treacherous peace. Instead of establishing a sufficient force for the protection of Mecca and Medina, the Porte is accused, at least, of having employed a fanatical Mussulman to assassinate the aged Abdul. His death, it is said, has been lately avenged by the recapture of Mecca, and the pillage of Medina ; and his place has been supplied by his son, a man still in the prime of life, as active, as powerful, and as ambitious as his father.

Of the peculiar doctrines of the Wahabees, we pretend not to speak with any positive certainty. They assert, it is said, the  
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unity of the Deity, like the Mahometans ; they hold him to be immaterial, eternal, and omnipotent ; and in their addresses to the Supreme Being, they are fervent and devout. According to them, God has never dictated any written code of laws to men ; nor has he made any particular revelation of himself. His existence, they think, is sufficiently manifested in his works. His will cannot be mistaken, since he has implanted the distinct perception of right and wrong in the human mind, together with the conviction that virtue alone can be agreeable to the Author of nature. They do not deny, however, that Providence has occasionally interfered in the concerns of mortals in an extraordinary manner ; and that it has chosen its instruments to promote the cause of truth, to reward the good, and to punish the guilty. Some men, they pretend, such as Mahomet and Abdul, have been distinguished by the peculiar favour of Heaven. During their lives, the laws and ordinances of these men ought to be obeyed, and their persons venerated. Their authority, however, should cease with their lives ; for the plans of Providence will then be furthered by other means, and with other instruments. If this statement be correct, and it comes to us from good authority, it is easy to see that ambition, not less than enthusiasm, dictated his religious creed to the crafty Abdul. As far as his theism goes, it is, perhaps, more sublime than could have been well expected from an Arab of the desert ; but his pretensions to govern the minds and actions of his countrymen, under the special authority of Heaven, betrayed the impostor in the teacher, and the rebel in the reformer. In limiting these pretensions to the period of his life, he probably lost nothing for which he cared ; while he assailed the Mahometan faith, without endangering his own immediate power. If, indeed, that power had been exercised only with the view of introducing a religion more rational than Mahomet's, we should not have much regreted its progress. It is humiliating to think that so many millions of people should consider such a miserable rhapsody as the Koran to be really of divine origin ; and yet it is much more lamentable to know the ferocious bigotry and intolerance of its disciples. The dogmatical manner in which a Turkish doctor disposes of the souls of all whom he calls infidels, might excite rather derision than anger, if the insults and the cruelties experienced by strangers in Mahometan countries, did not efface every impression except that of indignation. Unfortunately for the cause of humanity, Abdul appears to have had as little tolerance as Mahomet. His sword was stained with the blood of innumerable victims, and whole cities and districts have been desolated by his persecutions.

Before we quit this subject, we shall just remark, that it has been  
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said that some of the Ulemah undertook, with more zeal than prudence, to reclaim the apostates by argument. How their discussions were carried on, it would be difficult to ascertain exactly. The Moslem, it may be supposed, would insist on the direct evidence which the witnesses of the life and actions of Mahomet possessed of his divine commission, and on the firm establishment and wide diffusion of the faith, in spite of the mighty and numerous obstacles which the Prophet and his immediate followers had to encounter. The Wahabees would probably assert their better right to be heard, as bearing testimony from their own knowledge to the frequent interpositions of Heaven in favour of Abdul, who, if that were any proof of divine protection, had introduced the new doctrines under difficulties and dangers unprecedented in the religious revolutions of the East. 'The religion of Mahomet,' they probably added, 'is a partial religion, which was not intended for us. How can we (they would say) perform ablutions when we have no water? How can we give alms, when we have no riches? Or what occasion can there be to fast during the month of Ramadan, when we fast all the year?'

\* The result of these disputes was such as might be expected. Intolerant bigotry on one side, and fanatical enthusiasm on the other, would shut the ears of both parties to the language of truth and reason; and no appeal would be suffered to lye from the prejudices of either, but to the sabre and the musket. The appeal to arms has indeed been made; and we have thought that, in examining the publication of a traveller, whose book is almost wholly employed in detailing the manners, laws, and customs, prevalent in the Ottoman empire, we might easily be pardoned for introducing a subject which we consider as both curious and important. The throne of the Sultan is already shaken in Europe. Who can doubt that the propagation of the new faith will rapidly accelerate the dissolution of his power in Asia?

The Turkish empire, indeed, at the present day, exhibits a most singular and anomalous appearance. To the eye, at a distance, it may seem a mighty and even a solid structure; but, when closely examined, it only excites astonishment by not falling immediately to pieces. It would be impossible for us to follow our author in the account which he has given of it, or, in the limits which we prescribe to ourselves, to attempt to do more than to draw a mere outline of the extraordinary form of its constitution.

In order to make its real situation be understood, we cannot perhaps begin better, than by adopting the observation of Mr Eton, who remarks, that in the Mahometan system of policy, we may trace

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\* See Malthus on the Principle of Population, b. I. c. 7.

trace three æras. 'The *first* was of that kind usually denominated a theocracy, continued during the lifetime of the prophet himself, who, like Moses and Joshua among the Jews, appeared in the double character of a military chief and an inspired legislator ;' the *second* lasted while the Saracen caliphs held in their hands both the spiritual and temporal authorities ; and the *third* is marked by the separation of these, since the concerns of religion have been trusted to the Ulemah, of whom the mufti is the chief. Another revolution, however, has taken place, which is scarcely less important than the others. We allude to the changes in the military system, and especially to the altered character of the Janissaries. In two great points, then, the present emperor stands in a very different position from the ancient sultans, should we even confine our views to his power in the capital of his empire. *First*, He can issue no edict which is contrary to the Koran ; and the Ulemah, who are now the sole interpreters of the meaning of that book, must sanction every law by the authority of their *fetrah*, before it can become binding on the people. Nay, to such an extent is their power now pushed, that the Sultan finds himself compelled to submit to the inspection of their leading men, not only all his negotiations with other courts, but all the secrets of his cabinet. His sole defence against the encroachments of this body, consists in his remaining right to depose the mufti ; but though he can thus intimidate their chief, and gain over some of their leaders by the promises of promotion, the *esprit du corps* acts frequently and successfully in opposition to his will. His own ministers do not fail to take advantage of this situation of things ; and they often coalesce with the Ulemah, in order to defeat the cabals which are continually carrying on against them in the seraglio. There, every favourite has a party, and every minister a protector. But the Sultan is kept in awe by the Ulemah ; nor dares he rashly to choose men for his counsellors, who are not agreeable to those formidable interpreters of the law. Hence his power is really limited. Hence, too, he naturally endeavours to throw the chief responsibility on his ministers, and is more easily induced to remain inactive himself. The consequences of this may be clearly seen in a country, where the public voice is nothing ; where each individual grasps at power and wealth, without any other consideration ; and where pride, prejudice, ignorance, and bigotry, check every improvement, and believe in no amelioration. *Secondly*, The debasement of the Janissaries, by the introduction of the vilest vagabonds of the community into their bands, and by their long cessation from warlike enterprizes, has diminished considerably the power of the Sultan, as the sovereign of a vast empire ; though it has, perhaps, contributed

buted to his own personal security, by effectually damping that daring spirit of revolt among his troops which had proved fatal to so many of his predecessors. With respect to the military force of the Turks, we refer our readers to Mr Eton, whose statements have been adopted by Mr Griffiths. The attention of the philosophical politician, however, will be directed with more interest to the state of the Turkish provinces. These, as it is well known, are some of the fairest, and have been some of the happiest and most enlightened regions of the earth. Greece, Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, Arabia, recal a thousand pleasing recollections, which can no longer be associated with them in their present state of barbarism, slavery, and degradation. The authority of the Sultan over these provinces is perhaps of the most singular nature which ever retained nations under the government of a sovereign. We have heard the Turkish empire compared with Europe in the feudal times, and the Pachaliks likened to those great fiefs which were held by feudal tenures. Some resemblance may exist; but there are essential differences. The Pachas of Bagdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Albania, and the Morea, admit the nominal sovereignty of the Ottoman emperor, as the lords of Guienne and Burgundy paid homage to their liege the King of France. But the kings of France knew well, that by a prudent policy these provinces might revert to the crown; intermarriages might be made; wars between the great barons might be fomented, by which they would be mutually weakened; and, finally, the extinction of families promised sooner or later to give real or pretended rights to the sovereign to assume dominion over the estates of his vassals. In Turkey, the governor is generally the most powerful man of the province, who reigns in the name of the Sultan, without asking his leave. If it be worth his while, he sends presents to the Porte, and readily swears allegiance to a master, the shadow of whose authority he may sometimes think it convenient to acknowledge. Even this admission is made rather from the prejudices of religion, than from any other motive; and Selim continues to be respected as Caliph, where he has long ceased to be feared as Sultan.

In his account of the Turkish finances, Dr Griffiths is again indebted to Mr Eton. We do not object to this kind of honest plagiarism. Dr Griffiths copies whole pages from another book, and fairly confesses it.

According to the law of Turkey, the wealth of every individual ought, at his death, to revert to the Sultan. It would be useless to expatiate on the folly and injustice of such a law. That artifices should be employed to elude it, can be a subject of no surprise; and that they should succeed, can be a cause of no regret, except

to the despot and his creatures, who require so unjust a sacrifice. The usual means of evading the claims of the Sultan, are sufficiently indicative of the hypocrisy and the bigotry of the Turks. All donations for pious purposes, such as the maintenance of mosques and hospitals, are considered as sacred. When the father of a family wishes to provide for his children after his demise, he makes over the bulk of his fortune to some religious or charitable establishment. A person is nominated to receive the appropriated sum, and another to account with the receiver for its application. But the donor has the right to appoint both these persons, and he of course takes care that they shall be the very individuals to whom he wishes to leave his estates. The Ulemah probably receive a sufficient profit to induce them to wink at the deceit, which, by being very general, necessarily enriches them. Our author's chapter upon these *wakfs*, or false assignments, if it be not quite original, will be found to be curious and entertaining.

We have not time to follow Dr Griffiths in the detail of his voyage back from Constantinople to Smyrna. He took this opportunity of visiting the Troad; and after reflecting upon what came under his own observation, during his 'hasty and immethodical visit,' he confesses himself strongly prejudiced in favour 'of those hypotheses' which M. Chevalier has presented to the literary world. We are not inclined to dispute with our traveller upon a question which we have done our endeavours to put to rest. It is not, however, a single hasty and immethodical visit to the Troad, that can entitle an author to assert, 'that every admirer of Homer and classic learning must feel themselves deeply indebted to M. Chevalier's persevering spirit of inquiry, for those interesting elucidations which scepticism only can wish to depreciate.'\* We were glad to find that our traveller had time for other reflections.

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\* Dr Griffiths, in a note, takes occasion to pay a high compliment to Mr Gell, who, he says, is entitled to every praise for a most diligent and accurate survey of the Troad. Mr Gell made this survey in three days; and Dr Griffiths, who made a hasty and immethodical visit to the Troad twenty years before, pronounces this survey to be most diligent and accurate!!! There is, however, one point, and it is of some importance, about which, either he who obtained, or he who bestowed the eulogy, must be strangely mistaken. If Mr Gell be accurate (see the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1805), there are evident traces of the city and residence of Priam. If Dr Griffiths, who admires the accuracy of Mr Gell, be himself accurate, 'not one stone marks the residence of Priam!—and so completely annihilated is every trace of his city, that doubts have even been entertained of its having ever existed!!!'

tions. They come, we think, more suitably from his pen; though some admirers of Homer and of classical learning, more fastidious than ourselves, may admire that they should have been indited during a hasty and immethodical visit to the plain of Troy. 'However the art of cooking,' says Dr Griffiths, 'may be little understood by parlour guests in general, it is of too much importance to be wholly neglected by travellers who perform a journey in these countries, and in the manner I did. I have had repeated occasion,' adds he, with a conscious sense of talent, 'to congratulate myself, that my *abilities in that line* have prevented me from experiencing the loss of a wholesome and comfortable meal.'

After having quitted the Troad, Dr Griffiths visited Tenedos, Mitylene, Ipsora, and Scio. Dr Griffiths is a very gallant man, and does not fail to talk much of the beauty of the ladies in the last mentioned island. His criticisms on their dress, we have no doubt, are very judicious; but we do not think it quite fair in him to publish to the world, that their short petticoats did not succeed in preventing the eye of curiosity from spying their embroidered garters.

Our traveller, after having run some risks of being either starved or drowned, arrived at Smyrna, and proceeded from that city with the caravan to Aleppo. He passed by Sardis; had a view of the river Pactolus; saw the snow-capped Tmolus at a distance; pursued his route to Allah-sheer, the ancient Philadelphia—to Aphium-kara-hissar, the ancient Apamea—to Koniah, the ancient Iconium—to Ereklec, once Heraclea—over the waters of the Cydnus—across the mountains of Taurus;—and having passed over from Adana to the coast of Syria, proceeded by Seleucia, Antioch, and Martavaun to Aleppo. The account of this journey forms, in our opinion, the most interesting part of the volume in which it is contained. It cannot be read without deeply impressing the mind with abhorrence for the cruelty, cunning, and rapacity of the modern masters of Asia Minor. Virtue is not acknowledged if it do not conform with the precepts of the Koran; and there is scarcely either pity or charity for the stranger who thinks there may be other guides of duty. To treat him ill is lawful,—to insult him is meritorious. No allowance is made for difference of education, opinion, and habits. Reasoning is proscribed where bigotry is law. The Mussulman, when he speaks to an infidel, answers every appeal to the best feelings of the human heart, and to the best energies of the human mind, by contemptuous and opprobrious epithets. The hard usage which our traveller met with, marks well the character of the barbarous and superstitious people by whom he was surrounded. It is less offensive to hear of the mad ceremonies of the mad followers of Mewlana and Rufayee



at Koniah, than of the brutal intolerance of less fanatical Mahometans from Constantinople to Aleppo.

Having resided for some time at Aleppo, Dr Griffiths was determined by a friend, an Englishman, to accompany him to Busforah. A journey across the Desert at midsummer was, indeed, an arduous undertaking. Our traveller and his friend were not to be dismayed; but it does seem extraordinary that they should have taken with them the daughter of the latter, a child of seven years of age. Of the dangers, the difficulties, and the sufferings of these travellers, we have not room to give much account. Mr H., the companion of Dr Griffiths, died on the journey. The following description of this event is affecting, and would have been more so, if our author had been less ambitious of writing in a pretty style.

‘ At two o’clock P. M. the Simooleh blew stronger than usual from the S. E. ; and on joining the Mohaffah, I soon observed an afflicting change had taken place in the countenance of my friend. It was now that, in aggravation of all my sufferings, I foresaw the impossibility of his long resisting the violently burning blasts which, with little intermission, continued to assail us. The thermometer hanging round my neck was up to 116 ; and the little remaining water, which was in a leathern bottle, suspended at the corner of the Mohaffah, had become so thick, resembling the residuum of an ink-stand, that, parched and thirsty as I felt, I could not relieve my distress by any attempt to swallow it.

‘ At length, I perceived evident marks of our approaching the long-looked for wells, where some relief was to be expected. The hasty march of the leading camels and stragglers, all verging towards one point, convinced me we were not far from the place of our destination. Willing to communicate the glad tidings to my friend, I rode to him, and expressed my hope that he would be soon refreshed by a supply of water. He replied, ‘ Thank God ! but I am almost dead. ’ I endeavoured to cheer his spirits ; and then urging my horse, advanced to the spot where I observed the camels were collecting together. In about half an hour, I found myself amongst a circle of animals greedily contending for a draught of muddy water, confined in a small superficial well about five feet in diameter. Pressing to the edge, I laid myself upon my belly, and by means of my hand supplied myself with a fluid, which, however filthy in itself, and contaminated by the disgusting mouths of as many camels and men as could reach it, was a source of indescribable gratification. It is wholly out of the power of language to convey any idea of the blissful enjoyment of obtaining water after an almost total want of it during eight-and-forty hours, in the scorching regions of an Arabian desert in the month of July !

‘ But this moment of gratification was soon succeeded by one of peculiar horror and anxiety. Scarcely had I quenched my thirst before the Mohaffah arrived. I flew with a bowl full of water to my friend, who drank but little of it, and in great haste. Alas ! it was his last draught !

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His lovely child, too, eagerly moistened her mouth of roses, blistered by the noxious blast !

' With difficulty Joannes and myself supported my feeble friend to where the tent had been thrown down from the camel's back. He stammered out a question respecting the time of the day ; to which I answered it was near four : and requesting the Arabs to hold over him part of the tent (to pitch it required too much time), I unpacked as speedily as possible our liquor-chest, and hastened to offer him some Vifnee (a kind of cherry brandy) : but nature was too much exhausted ! I sat down, and receiving him in my arms, repeated my endeavours to engage him to swallow a small portion of the liqueur. All human efforts were vain ! Gust after gust of pestilential air dried up the springs of life, and he breathed his last upon my bosom.' p. 376—8.

Dr Griffiths concludes this volume, by informing his readers of his safe arrival at Bombay from Bassorah, though he does not favour us with the particulars of his voyage. We should be unwilling to pass a severe sentence on his innocent quarto. When a man has travelled ' half the world over,' it would be hard to discourage him from telling the story of his adventures, especially if he should be so polite as to attack no prejudices within a thousand miles of those to whom he addresses himself. This precaution taken, why should not a traveller tell how he dined on the plain of Troy ; how he ate *piloh* at Durgoot, *kebaubs* at Erekle, and a comfortable supper at a Turkish village, where he expected nothing but *jaourt* and *pekmez* ? All this is certainly very interesting ; and yet, as there may be too much of a good thing, we shall easily excuse Dr Griffiths, if in his next volume he should not be quite so exact in informing us of the contents of his bills of fare. He might, we think, leave his readers to suppose that a traveller must eat and drink ; and, after having heard so much about it, they will not doubt that Dr Griffiths always ate and drank as well as he could. With respect to the *apparent* plagiarisms of our author we shall say nothing, but leave the question to be settled between him and Messrs Eton and D'Ongson. Upon the whole, we are inclined to part with our traveller in good humour. His volume, we think, will be found more edifying than most novels ; not so dull as most romances ; and better worth buying than many books that are more loudly praised by more indulgent reviewers.

ART. III. *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti : comprehending a View of the Principal Transactions in the Revolution of Saint Domingo, with its Ancient and Modern State.* By Marcus Rainsford, Esq. late Captain Third West India Regiment, &c. &c. 4to. pp. 501. London; Cundie & Chapple. 1805.

SINCE the commencement of our Journal, we have made it a rule to pay especial attention to those discussions of colonial subjects, which interest England more than any other country, and which are daily acquiring new importance from the unhappy changes that have taken place in the balance of power, on both sides of the Atlantic. Among these questions, the topics connected with the slave trade, and, in general, with the condition of the race which forms the bulk of our colonial population, have naturally claimed the principal share in our notice; and we trust that our exertions have not been without some little effect in putting that momentous argument upon its right grounds; removed, on the one hand, from the perilous doctrines of negro liberty, which have desolated the colonies of France, and, on the other, from the lamentable error of the maxims still clung to by the legislature of our own country, with the same obvious and fatal tendency. It may be useful here to connect these scattered discussions, by a general reference to the articles under which they are to be found. In examining the able tract called '*the Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*,' we took occasion to state those general views of the consequences of the colonial revolution, which had been suggested by the preceding events, and were countenanced by the existing circumstances of the West Indian community. Unhappily, the commencement of hostilities between the two great colonial powers, prevented the fulfilment of the expectations then entertained, and gave rise among many other evils in both hemispheres, to the undisputed establishment of that formidable neighbour, whose present aspect we are now enabled more nearly to contemplate. The publication of '*Mr Dallas's History of the Maroons*,' afforded an opportunity of discussing some subordinate questions connected with West Indian affairs, particularly the conduct of our government, and of the colonial legislatures, in the prosecution of the Maroon war. In the '*Voyage à la Louisiane*' of Baudry de Lozieres, we met with some striking illustrations of the state of opinions in France, relative to colonial subjects. Mr Barrow's second volume upon the Cape, furnished some important additions to the mass of well-authenticated facts by which the advocates of abolition have established the fundamental position, that the barbarism

barism of Africa is inseparably connected with the slave trade ; and *McKinnon's Tour* added several powerful documents to the evidence obtained from the enemies of the abolition, regarding various topics in the West Indian branch of the argument. When the discussion of the subject in Parliament gave rise to the '*Concise Statement of the Question*,' we entered with some fulness into the various branches of the argument, and more especially into the topics which have been added to the cause by the revolution of late years. '*A Defence of the Slave Trade*,' having, upon the same occasion, been published by its friends, as a declaration of their grounds of proceeding, it appeared to merit attention, and we accordingly examined it at great length, and presented our readers with a detailed exposition of the whole question. The French treatise, entitled, '*Examen de l'Esclavage*,' gave us an opportunity of demonstrating the total change which opinions in France had undergone upon this great subject, and of adducing much new evidence from the confessions of our adversaries, against the system. And in noticing the tract lately published upon the Barbadoes correspondence, under the name of '*Horrors of Negro Slavery*,' we briefly explained the mighty confirmations deducible from those authentic documents to all the main doctrines of the abolitionists. By referring to these different articles, our readers will find the whole statement of this important subject, as it at present stands ; and we purpose, for the future, only to take up such points in the controversy as may be presented in new lights, or to notice the additional information which shall from time to time be brought to view by the labours of succeeding authors. The work now before us contains somewhat deserving of this name, and relating to the branch of the subject in our eyes the most interesting of all, viz. the relation between the question of abolition, and the actual state of foreign affairs in the West Indies.

Mr Rainsford has compiled this volume, by putting together large extracts, and ill-made abridgements of the most popular and accessible works upon the West Indies. This coalition he has effected without any great skill or ingenuity ; and if we except the varieties of a style, which has no pretensions to either elegance or perspicuity, and but few claims to the praise of grammar, there is in nine tenths of the work no more of the nominal author, than of Bryan Edwards or the Abbé Raynal. The small portion which remains, consists of the information collected by Mr Rainsford during a short residence on the island ; and we only marvel how a person of ordinary capacity, with merely eyes and memory, should have had such opportunities as he possessed, and made so little of them. This little is certainly in-

teresting, and must form the subject of the present article, after we have stopped to sketch very generally the materials of the other chapters.

The work begins with a long history of Columbus's transactions in St Domingo and elsewhere, subsequent to his discovery of that island. All this is taken from Dr Robertson and the Abbé Raynal; taken without any selection, and patched together with no sort of skill. An attempt to bring down the history of the colony to the period of the revolution, is then made; and here, Raynal is reinforced by Bryan Edwards, whose 'Historical Sketch of St Domingo' furnishes the whole view given by our author, of the situation of the island in 1789, unless in so far as he has added a few of the contradictory statements of M. de Charmilly, published in his '*Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards.*' From the same sources he draws the whole of his narrative of the revolution, and of the war carried on in the colony; inserting in his text, not only the text of Mr Edwards, but several of the original papers given in his appendix, omitting some of that author's most interesting statements, correcting none of the mistakes and wilful errors into which he has been convicted of falling, and obscuring the whole by an arrangement and style, in comparison of which, the clumsy method and tawdry composition of Edwards, may be fairly said to rise towards perfection. In this manner are manufactured the first 212 pages of Mr Rainsford's book; and here Bryan Edwards leaves him to himself; so that the remainder of the narrative (with the exception of the materials furnished by his own residence on the island) is taken from the English newspapers during the last war which the French government carried on against the Blacks. Many of his documents, that is, of the letters and other official papers published in the journals of the day, are inserted in the text: the rest, together with the letter of Gregoire, the confession of Ogé, and other papers in Edwards's notes; an extract from a pamphlet by the author, in which he quotes a great part of the Marseilloise Hymn; a communication by a 'learned friend,' who propounds the scheme of draughting off the overgrown population of London to cultivate the West Indies; a fac-simile of Toussaint's handwriting; and a bit of a sentimental journey by a chaplain in the navy, form altogether an appendix of some hundred and odd pages. And this is the 'History of St Domingo,' by Captain Rainsford; and this is the true way to expand a narrative of thirty or forty pages, into several pounds weight of letter-press.

It is necessary that we preface the abstract which we intend to exhibit of the original information contained in Mr Rainsford's narrative,

narrative, by noticing his opportunities of instructing himself, and the general complexion of his prejudices or opinions. On his passage from Jamaica to join his regiment in Martinico, in the year 1797, he was forced into Cape François by stress of weather; and, assuming the disguise of an American, he was permitted to land. The first object that attracted his attention, was Toussaint L'Ouverture, who happened to be standing on the beach, and immediately entered into conversation with him, in terms of great politeness. The repairs of the vessel occupied several weeks, during which he amused himself, by mingling with the various society of natives and foreigners in the capital, and by frequent excursions into the country. After leaving the port to proceed on the voyage, the ship was once more exposed to very bad weather, and forced into Fort Dauphin, where our author was put under arrest on suspicion of being a spy.

'Early in the morning he was taken on shore, and examined by a black general, named Muro, the commanding officer of the district. He could not help thinking that his appearance augured well, for he bore the principal mythological characteristic of justice. He was totally blind of one eye, and appeared to see but little through the other. He, however, relieved the prisoner from the apprehension of any charge existing previous to the moment; for he began his examination by insinuating, that he was not an American, but an English spy, reconnoitering the coast; and closed it by acquainting him, that a court-martial, already summoned, would assemble on the morrow, and his trial would be prompt and decisive. He was then conducted to a dark prison, (which wanted none of the usual concomitants of such a place), and treated with the utmost indignity. There was no bed; nor had he any other provision than some coarse dry fish, which he could not eat—a treatment, he was afterwards informed, that was used to prisoners during the space between apprehension and trial, to prevent any opportunity for the contrivance of evasion. At the hour of ten he was brought before a regular military court, composed of twelve black general officers, the etiquette of which astonished him. General Christophé, a relative of Toussaint, being in a neighbouring district, presided, and Muro sat on his right hand. They interrogated him with the utmost discrimination and acuteness, appearing perfectly conversant with the nature of the business. But, for the commandant already named, not a look nor an attitude escaped him—and he darted his eye, in which both seemed to have centered, with an uncommon degree of fire, over every part of the prisoner, the form of whose very head-dress, he insisted, was not *an Americain*!

'He was put on his defence in equal form; but all he could urge had not the smallest effect, as he had no passports nor any American papers to exhibit. Notwithstanding every appearance to the contrary, they had had some decisive testimony of imprudent liberty on the

island; and, after several hours deliberation, he was condemned to suffer death as quick as possible. The master of the vessel behaved with dignity of character, and the utmost solicitude. He protested against the judgment, but without effect; and the prisoner was remanded till the sentence should be transmitted to the General-en-Chef, for his approval.' p. 231-2.

He was now removed to another prison,\* and kept fourteen days in constant expectation of being executed according to his sentence. During this anxious period he was visited by a female, in the commendation of whose elegance and beauty he is extremely romantic. She brought him provisions, and attempted to console him by the most amiable discourse. She was a woman of colour; and carefully concealed her name and rank, and every circumstance which might lead to a discovery. Our author, who is a passionate admirer of the sex, in all its shades and hues, was mightily solaced by this friendly intercourse; and does not fail to fill a note upon the occasion, with Ledyard's famous declamation in praise of women, besides devoting a print to delineate the dusky beauty in the act of relieving him through the bars of his prison. At length, on the fifteenth day, Toussaint's answer arrived; and contained a reversal of the sentence, with an order for his release, and a permission to proceed on his voyage; accompanied by a hint, 'that he must never return to this island, without *proper passports*.' He accordingly once more left St Domingo, and arrived at the place of his destination.

The sentiments of Mr Rainsford appear to be a singular jumble of prejudices against the abolition of the slave trade, arising evidently from an entire ignorance of the subject, and still stronger prepossessions in favour of the negroes, whose eulogist he constantly is, and often in a very unwarrantable degree. In p. 99, he complains of the slave trade having been 'already too much agitated in this country.' And, in the very same paragraph, he admits that the importation of Africans into the colonies has been the fruitful source of 'revolt, treachery, murder, and suicide.' Soon after, notwithstanding the intimate knowledge of colonial affairs, which he boasts of, and his keen invectives against those eternal babblers, who, without any 'knowledge or experience,' endeavour to instruct the colonists (p. 412.), we find him utterly confounding the abolition of slavery with the prohibition of the slave trade; and under the same head (p. 102.), while contrasting the situations of a West Indian slave and an English artizan, he decides in favour of the former, chiefly because—though a slave is tied down to one spot, a mechanic in this country has to wander about for employment, which he often cannot procure—and this, our author thinks much worse than want of liberty, accompanied

panied by severe punishments. But, in the following passage, the confusion of abolition with emancipation is still more remarkable. After describing the change of sentiments which took place in Paris upon the subject of negro freedom, and stating that the same people who, in 1792, had been the advocates for the liberty of the negroes, became, in 1802, clamorous for their subjugation, he adds, that 'the mania spread into England; and that nation, where the ministry and people had blindly desired the abolition at the expence of a portion of their empire, of commerce, and the ruin of a large body of colonists, still more blindly joined in the popular wish of returning [restoring] to slavery those who were completely emancipated.' (p. 262.) Before closing these preliminary remarks upon the authority due to Mr Rainsford, we must notice his extreme carelessness in following former writers through their most notorious mistakes. It is known to our readers, that Mr Bryan Edwards, in describing the commencement of the insurrection on the plain of the Cape, particularizes the slaves on M. Gallifet's plantation, as peculiarly forward in the cruelties of those dreadful scenes; and aggravates the complexion of their guilt, by stating that the negroes of Gallifet were proverbial all over St Domingo, for the extreme indulgence with which they were treated. But it has since been shewn, by incontestable evidence, that, seven years before Mr Edwards's history was published, every person acquainted with West Indian affairs had been in the habit of quoting the instance of M. Gallifet's plantation, as a strong illustration of the evils resulting from the maltreatment of the negroes: for that, the original proprietor having died about twenty years ago, the system of management had been changed under his successor, and the cruel treatment of the slaves had, since the change, rendered a constant purchase of new hands necessary—a thing quite unknown so long as the St Domingo proverb, '*heureux comme un negre de Galifet*,' continued in force: (See the statement of this point by Mr Brougham, Colonial Policy, vol. II.) Yet does Mr Rainsford give the statement of Edwards, without the least allusion to the change of treatment! (See p. 135.) And not only has he followed that author into the errors detected by others: he has taken parts of his narrative as true, which the subsequent pages of his own work flatly contradicted. Thus, the story told in the text of Edwards's history, about Colonel Mandrick's murder, is almost entirely contradicted in one of the notes; for the author there admits, that since the text was printed, he had received a satisfactory disproof of the worst circumstances, which he had previously recorded upon insufficient authority. But Mr Rainsford gives the narrative as it stands in the text, and appears never to have read the note which retracts



it!—one proof, among many others, of the extreme impropriety of permitting any mistatement to go abroad at all; when its correction is contained in another part of the same volume. It may form a suitable addition to these illustrations of Mr Rainsford's vaunted knowledge of his subject, if we notice his method of estimating the negro population of St Domingo. We believe the most extravagant computation of the number of blacks in that island, prior to the revolution, never exceeded 600,000; and 460,000 was reckoned the most accurate statement. Our author, notwithstanding the inevitable effects of the wars and insurrections in thinning those numbers, gives the inhabitants of St Domingo (p. 412.) at three or four millions in round numbers.

From these observations, our readers will be enabled to estimate the credit due to Mr Rainsford's statements, both by attending to his opportunities of information, and considering the bent of his prejudices. We shall now proceed to notice the facts concerning the state of things in the new Black empire, which his residence there has enabled him to lay before his reader. It is extremely interesting to contemplate the circumstances of that very extraordinary community; and unfortunately this is almost the only opportunity of doing so which has yet been afforded.

The first thing that struck Mr Rainsford upon his landing at the Cape, was the real equality which prevailed among the inhabitants in the ordinary intercourse of society. He happened to visit the Hotel de la Republique, the principal tavern in the town, and frequented by Americans.

'Here,' says he, 'were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the same table indiscriminately; and the writer had been scarcely seated at a repast in the first room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general system, helped himself frequently from his dish, and took occasion to season his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the address of 'Mon Americain.' The appearance of the house, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-house, and, on particular occasions, exhibited a superior degree of elegance. Touffaint not unfrequently dined here himself; but he did not sit at the head of the table, from the idea (as was asserted) that the hours of refection and relaxation should not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man should assume a real superiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard table, where the writer conversed and played with him several times; and he could not help, on some occasions, when a want of etiquette disturbed him for a moment, congratulating himself, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourse, he saw no room for insincerity; and that if delicate converse did not always present itself, he was free from the affectation of sentiment.'

To these habits of equality in private life, a striking contrast is presented by the strictness of their military discipline. The account which our author gives of this important branch of their policy is, indeed, very impressive, and, besides greatly modifying the opinion we had formed of the negro government and its resources, has a powerful tendency to awaken still more lively feelings of alarm than we had previously entertained for the safety of the colonial empire in the West Indies. Martial law prevailed in full vigour over the whole island,—and was dispensed with the utmost order and regularity. The troops required very rarely any examples of punishment, and these were trivial, chiefly such as consisted in the shame of a slight confinement or the like. Their numbers were very great; every man capable of bearing arms could be turned out at a minute's warning, and sixty thousand soldiers, excellently equipped and in complete discipline, were frequently exercised together on the plain of the Cape. Our author was present at one of these spectacles, and has described it in the following terms.

‘ Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himself of the opportunity, accompanied by some Americans, and a few of his own countrymen, who resided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the scene he had not the smallest conception. Two thousand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the ensign, yet with the utmost attention to rank, without the smallest symptom of the insubordination that existed in the leisure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual exercise with a degree of expertness seldom witnessed, and performed equally well several manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whistle a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards; then, separating, threw themselves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or sides, keeping up a strong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled; they then formed again, in an instant, into their wonted regularity. This single manœuvre was executed with such facility and precision, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in bushy and hilly countries. Such complete subordination, such promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have astonished any European soldier who had the smallest idea of their previous situation.’ p. 217-18.

He adds, in another place, several remarks on the steadfast spirit of resistance to any foreign invader by which all these troops are animated,—and states a circumstance of no small moment in the estimate of the power possessed by this new empire, viz. the universal elevation of the ablest and most crafty persons to the chief share of influence and of property. Situations of trust and responsibility he found filled by negroes, some of them Africans by birth, who were recollected in the lowest state of slavery before the revolution,

lution, and many high places were likewise occupied by men of talents who, under the old *regime*, had been free negroes or mulattoes. According to Mr Rainsford, too, the agriculture and population of the island has suffered infinitely less than might have been expected from its late unsettled state. The sugar and coffee crop of 1800, he asserts, was not more than one third less than the produce of the most prosperous seasons before the revolution. And 'the increase of population,' says he, 'was such as to astonish the planters resident in the mother country, who could not conceive the possibility of preventing that falling off in the numbers of the negroes which formed their absolute necessity for supplying them by the slave trade.' (p. 240.)

Some of Mr Rainsford's accounts of manners, and of the comforts of the lower orders in this singular commonwealth, we have occasionally suspected of exaggeration. But, even taken with much allowance, they form a very pleasing picture. The sumptuousness of living which he ascribes to the superior orders in the island, particularly the wealthy inhabitants of the Cape, we by no means question. That chasteness of taste was generally conspicuous in their finery, we must be allowed to doubt. The prevalence of strict etiquette, which he talks of in p. 220., and the excellent discipline of the domestics, we should think rather incompatible with the habits of equality and relaxation which we formerly dwelt upon;—and we can scarcely conceive by what standard he judges of polite or accomplished society, when we find him praising, in that particular, the hordes of emancipated slaves among whom he mixed.—'A conscious ease,' says he, 'and certain *gaieté du cœur* presided over every repast.' In many instances he heard reasoning, and 'witnessed manners of acuteness and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible from those who were remembered in a state of servitude, or whose parents were in situations of abject penury; while sallies of wit, not frequently surpassed, have enlivened many an hour.' After asserting, in general, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree at the Cape, and that their 'alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal that of ancient European cities,' he adds, what we have great difficulty in believing, that the men 'were, in general, sensible and polite, often dignified and impressive; the women frequently elegant and engaging; and that the intercourse of the sexes was on the most rational footing.' (p. 221.) He is loud, too, in his praises of the negro players, whom he has seen perform comedies in a style that would not disgrace the first theatre in Europe.

The happiness of the lower orders and their virtues, however, are painted in a still more utopian manner. Labour was so much

abridged,

abridged, that our author says it would be 'a great gratification to the feeling heart, to see the peasant in other countries with a regulated toil similar to that of the labourer in St Domingo.' (p. 228.) 'The condition of the bulk of the people,' he observes, 'approached nearer to happiness than many others which are considered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and those rather attributable to accident than vice.' (p. 223.) Such high colouring will certainly deceive nobody of ordinary sense. But the following passage, containing more details, and executed in a more sober style, may probably be admitted to convey a fairer idea of the state of the negro peasantry in the new empire.

'In one instance, the writer was introduced by a Brigand of peculiar intelligence, (with whom he had frequent conferences on the military tactics of the Black army), to the cottage of a black labourer, of whom an account may not be uninteresting. He had a family of thirteen children; eight of them by one woman, and the remainder by two others; the former only lived with him in the same cottage, with his mother, who was aged and infirm; the other two separately, at a small distance. This man was an epitome of legislature, and his family a well regulated kingdom in miniature. His cottage consisted of three irregular apartments, the last of which was his refectory, where, as often as possible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his subjects assembled, including on those occasions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the smallest utensil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leisure; notwithstanding the artificer, during the process, had been obliged to attend his labour in the fields, and was a considerable time in arms. On a neat shelf, appropriated peculiarly to their use, lay a mass book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels, some parts of which he understood more than his visitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a small scale; and the whole so compact, and clean, with such an air of *propreté* throughout, as was absolutely attractive. His own bed-room was furnished with an improved bedstead, supported by trussels, with a mattress and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture; but that of his children and mother surpassed the whole. One bedstead contained them, yet separated the male from the female, the young from the aged, and was separated or combined in an instant. The third was his kitchen and storehouse, and might also be called his laboratory; for conveniences were found for chymical experiments, though not of the most scientific kind; but every utensil for culinary purposes was provided in the best manner. The wife of this labourer (for he had submitted to the ceremony of marriage with the female who had born him the most children, as is the general custom with them) was nearly as ingenious as himself, and equally intelligent. The mode he pursued in the regulation of his domestic economy was excellent. As continence is not a virtue of the blacks, the increase of his family was not confined to his own house; yet, even in his amours he was just;

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and as the two mothers before mentioned were less protected than his oftensible wife, the primary object of his consideration was to have the whole of his children under his own care. This was reconciled to all parties from the first, in so mild a way, that no distinction was perceivable but in age, while the mothers held a relationship to their domiciliated offspring similar to that of an aunt or cousin, each exerting herself for the purpose of adding to the comforts of her own child.—On festive occasions, the two mothers sat alternately on the right or left of the mistress of the house, with as much etiquette as might be perceived in a more elevated station, and with the utmost harmony. The master of the family was absolute; but with him it was in theory, not in practice; for all seemed to vie in forbearance. As soon as the children could contribute their little powers to labour, they were employed; the younger (except as regarded their strength) being subject to the inferior offices; and, singular as it may appear, on the festive occasions alluded to, they waited upon their seniors, though but by a few years, and seemed delighted in the office. Agreeable to this rule, in accordance with that reverence for age so remarkable among blacks of every condition, the grandmother received the affection and attention of all; and though often crabbed, infirm, and discontented, no one seemed to consider her failings as such, but as a duty prescribed them to bear.' p. 225—227.

After the picture which this abstract presents of the growing resources, and, we may say, the completed discipline of the military force in St Domingo, it will doubtless afford matter of surprise to find that our author belongs to that class of reasoners who entertain no fears whatever of such a neighbourhood; that he trusts entirely to certain peaceful professions, which circumstances have at different times wrung from the rulers of these negro tribes, and treats, with a contempt altogether indignant, those who presume to think the negro-peopled colonies of Cuba, Jamaica, and Guiana in the smallest jeopardy from the sovereignty of insurgent negroes in both divisions of St Domingo. His admiration of Toussaint, which, though excessive, may be pardoned when we reflect how much of it arises from gratitude, has chiefly, in our opinion, misled him into a belief, that this new dynasty can be kept united, and subject to regular organization, and that inoffensive councils are likely to retain their sway over the chiefs of the Blacks. But how little trust was to be reposed in Toussaint himself, we think sufficiently evinced by the indecision of his conduct towards the French government, and towards the people who had confided their cause to his management. The great and fatal blunder of that excellent person's life, his surrender of authority almost at discretion to Le Clerc, is in our minds an ample proof that his talents were not proportionate to his virtues, and that, with all the more amiable parts of the civilized character, and  
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some of the best qualities of the savage, he was eminently deficient in that strength of resolution and constancy of purpose which alone can secure well grounded trust in a public man, or give value and efficiency to the rest of his endowments.

But at any rate, when Toussaint left the stage, he was succeeded by Dessalines; and we really do hope that we shall hear no more of this man's superiority to the rest of his race, and of his personal qualities furnishing a pledge, against all the best founded apprehensions derived from general views, that the military republic of negroes will be a harmless and peaceful neighbour. His first act, to be sure, after assuming the supreme power, was dictated by humanity, and merits most of the praises bestowed on it;—we allude to the reward offered for the restoration of exiled negroes to their own country. But what was his next act? A rigorous persecution of all persons who had contributed, in any way, even as informers, to the schemes of Le Clerc and Rochambeau. These were immediately devoted to capital punishment; and the officers of the Black army were charged with the summary discovery, trial and execution of those unhappy persons. By the act for abjuring the French nation, instant death is denounced to any native of France, 'who may soil, with his sacrilegious footstep, this territory of liberty.' (See Appendix, No. XIV.) In his proclamation when appointed governor-general for life, we find the most barbarous exultation expressed at a retrospect of the cruelties committed in the revolutionary war. 'Where,' says he, 'is that Haytian so vile, so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not fulfilled the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating those blood-thirsty tygers? If there be one, let him fly! indignant nature discards him,' &c.—'Yes, we have rendered to these true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage. Yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America,' &c. (See Appendix, No. XV.) But the language of this chief, when he talks of the colonies where the negroes are still enslaved, is too pointed not to make its application immediately. After mentioning the 'frightful despotism exercised at Martinique,' he exclaims, 'Unfortunate people of Martinique! Could I but fly to your assistance, and break your fetters! Alas! an insurmountable barrier separates us. Yet perhaps a spark from the same fire which inflames us, will alight on your bosoms: Perhaps at the sound of this emotion, suddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your sacred and indelible rights.' (Ibid.) The following address is equally intelligible, and must attract the attention of every one not resolved to shut his eyes. 'Tremble! tyrants, usurpers, scourges of the new world! Our daggers are sharpened; your punishment is ready!

Sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brothers.' (Ibid.)

Such are the prospects offered by the character and views of the actual rulers of the Black Empire. Let us hear no more then of Dessalines, the worthy successor of the peaceful Toussaint, and the simple and unoffending tribes entrusted to his pacific rule. No change of dynasty can new-make or new-mould half a million of men; convert slaves into freemen, or force a rude multitude into a community of civilized subjects.—And when were barbarians ever peaceful?—Neither let us be told that our fears are chimerical, and our speculative views of danger from the neighbourhood of Hayti, 'senseless and hypothetical, and founded in ignorance of the subject.' (p. 414.) With these documents before our eyes, it is in vain to talk of theory. But, more than all this, let not such dangers as we have been contemplating, or the resources and spirit of the new empire, be despised in consideration of 'the respectable state of defence in which our islands are kept.' (p. 415.) And, above every thing, let it not be forgotten that all our fears are indeed useless, and all our measures of precaution vain, so long as we persist in filling our finest colonies, those settlements most exposed to the influence of negro insurrection, with the natural allies of the common enemy, and with the seeds of new flame, as well as the fuel which can best support it. Let us at length be wise 'while it is called to-day;' and since we cannot bring ourselves to abolish the slave trade, for justice or for money, let us now at least yield to the necessities of our situation, and terminate that dangerous commerce, for safety.

We have enlarged so much on what appears to be the most valuable portion of the work now before us, that we cannot afford room for any further abstract of its contents. It contains, however, several statements, of some importance, relative to the employment of bloodhounds, both in the French service and our own. These we can recommend to our readers, both as giving amusing and interesting information. They will be found in No. X. of the Appendix. Before closing this article, we have to remark, that Mr Rainsford's book is adorned with plates, taken from drawings made by himself, while resident in St Domingo. We cannot give them any great commendation for taste or skill; and we are certain that, in some particulars, they have no claims to accuracy. There is not, for example, a single negro represented with any of the features peculiar to the race. Every one has the high skull, and nose, and thin lips, and general expression of the European; so that the negroes of Mr Rainsford's pencil, are exactly whites with their faces blackened.

ART.

ART. IV. Caroli Frederici Gærtner, Med. Doct. Soc. Natur. Curios. Suev. Sodal. Phys. Jenens. Gotting. Membri, &c. *Carpologia, seu Descriptiones et Icones Fructuum et Seminum Plantarum*: sc. Continuatio operis Josephi Gærtner de Fructibus et Seminibus Plantarum, Vol. III.—Fasc. 1. P. 1. cum Tab. Æn. x. Sumptibus C. F. E. Richter, Bibliopolæ Lipsiensis. Typis Schrammianis. Tübingæ, 1805. 4to.

THE classical work of the late Dr Joseph Gærtner, *de fructibus et seminibus plantarum*, is, we apprehend, one of those that are more generally recommended and quoted, than studied and understood: it is chiefly celebrated, we think, as a *curious* publication, full of beautiful engravings; and in this capacity it graces, with Hill's vegetable system, and Thornton's 'national work,' the shelves of many a botanical library. The benefit which succeeding botanists have derived from it, appears, with a few exceptions, to be trifling indeed, if we consider how few of the many botanical writers now living, betray any symptoms of more than a superficial acquaintance with the subject. It is indeed surprising, that, after the appearance of such a guide, so many even of our better describers of plants, should either not venture at all into the dreaded recesses of the fruits and seeds, or, if they do, run into such labyrinths of confusion, and give such unintelligible accounts, that the student finds himself lost and bewildered in following them. Who would expect to meet with expressions like the following—'pericarpium cavum;' 'fructus absque manifesta septatione trilocularis;' 'fructus quinquelocularis et monospermus;' 'pomum localis extus convexus;' 'capsula valvulis longitudinaliter dehiscens;' 'bacca receptaculis tribus affixa qua in longum per parietem excurrunt;' 'drupa quadrivalvis, basi discedens,' &c. ! and yet these are not the misnomers of minor writers of the day: even the best of them speak of 'semina tegumine rugelloso nucleo ampliore;' of 'semen biloculare, bivalve, dehiscens, inane, obscurum.' Obscure indeed ! but clearness itself, if compared with the uncouth descriptions which they give of the interior structure of the seeds; which, however, they rarely venture upon at all. This neglect of organs so essential must strike us as the more incongruous, if contrasted with the solicitude and care which Nature employs to secure their production, by the admirable apparatus of the flowers that precedes them,—often so complicated, to no other apparent end and purpose, than the formation of the fruit. It is the fruit, and still more the seeds it harbours, that afford the most constant, unerring, and characteristic marks, and cannot there-

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fore but be considered as of the greatest value to the systematical botanist.\*

While we thus reprobate the inattention to carpology, that marks the writings of most of our botanical contemporaries, it is but justice to observe, that the prejudices which once seemed to be entertained against it, by a certain school, begin gradually to disappear. Those botanists, whose deeper insight into vegetable economy has taught them to consider the natural affinities of plants as an object by no means of idle speculation, are already fully aware of the necessity of the study of carpology; nor is it a matter of doubt, but that, ere long, botanists of all other persuasions will discover the propriety of following their example.

If we mention the late Gærtner's great work as one which has formed an æra in the history of botanical writings, it is not that we affect to join the common-place encomiums so indiscriminately bestowed by botanical writers and reviewers upon *all* the parts of that performance, or to place implicit confidence in every thing that has come from the pen or pencil of that celebrated naturalist. We wish to do justice to a work of great and original merit, without seeking to disguise those imperfections which are almost inseparable from such extensive undertakings. That author, we are convinced, has often trusted too much to analogy in his descriptions and delineations, especially in those of the minuter seeds: his specimens were not constantly the most perfect ones, nor had he always opportunities of repeating his observations. Hence, even with *his* genius for penetrating at once through the complicated organization which presented itself to his view, it was often impossible to avoid deception. It would be unfair, however, to cavil at inaccuracies proceeding from such innocent causes. We are rather surprized, indeed, at their comparative fewness; and nobody, we trust, will dissent from us, who at all knows to appreciate the merits of such an herculean labour. For this, as well as for other reasons, we think it unnecessary at present to pass any particular censure upon the original work of that illustrious botanist. Our duty, however, forbids us to extend the same indulgence to the performance now immediately under consideration—the continuation, partly posthumous, and partly supplied by the son of that celebrated author.

Dr Gærtner, in the two volumes which constitute his *Carpologia*,

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\* We cannot, however, go the whole length of that zealous carpologist, who maintained that there was divine authority for founding all botanical arrangement upon this favourite branch of the study; and that this was distinctly expressed in the text, 'By their *fruits* shall ye know them.'

logy, had made us acquainted with the fruits of one thousand genera of plants, that is, about half the number known at the period of his publication. Though the preface to the second volume states, that with it the work is to be considered as completed, yet there remained some materials which that indefatigable man, notwithstanding the decayed state of his health, could not suffer to be lost for want of exertion. He therefore again resumed the task of delineation and description; and forty more genera, the beginning of an intended supplement, were nearly accomplished, when he was cut off in the midst of his labours. Prompted by the wishes of several naturalists to see the work continued, Dr C. F. Gærtner (as we learn from an advertisement annexed to the number before us) resolved to take up the thread of his father's investigations; and, with this view, undertook and accomplished, in the years 1802 and 1803, a carpological tour in France, England and Holland. He acknowledges that the liberality with which the most celebrated naturalists of those countries assisted him in his pursuits, has far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. At Paris he obtained permission from the Directors of the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes, not only to examine the treasures of their fruit collection, but also to make drawings of every thing that was remarkable; and, through the communications of several botanists of that capital, he became possessed of most of the genera of Aublet, Commerson, PHeritier, and others. In London he met with the same encouragement from Sir Joseph Banks; and likewise obtained specimens of fruits and seeds from Mr Lambert. At Leyden he made a considerable acquisition in Ceylon and Javanese pericarps and seeds, most of them presented to him by Professor Brugnanns. Thus supplied with valuable materials, Dr Gærtner jun. promises to continue the work of his father without interruption; and we rejoice at it, especially as what appears to belong to him in the number before us, augurs by no means unfavourably for what we are to expect from his talents.

The editor has omitted to inform us how much of this first number is posthumous. We have reason however to believe, that the five first plates belong entirely to the father. The figures which they contain are of unequal merit; some of them being greatly inferior to what we were accustomed to admire in the finished and complete representations of the preceding volumes, and made from specimens too imperfect to add much to our better knowledge of the plants to which they respectively belong. More than a third part of the descriptions we find deficient, either with regard to the whole seed, or one or more of its constituent parts. Such deficiencies occurring but seldom in the preceding

volumes, we may conclude that the late author had not intended to offer these carpological gleanings to the public eye in the imperfect state in which we now see them. Some of these chasms, we think, Dr Gærtner jun. might have found opportunities to fill up himself; for, that he did not wish to abstain from making any necessary additions, appears from his endeavours to complete the synonymy, and from some occasional remarks in the body of the text.

We now proceed to offer some desultory remarks on such of the plants contained in this number, as are either most remarkable, or stand in need of additional illustration.

Of the four grasses represented in the first plate, one is a species of *Ischamum*, considered as new and distinguished, on account of the transverse wrinkles of the outer glumes of the sessile flowers, by the appellation of *rugosum*. Dr Gærtner will find, on consulting Salisbury's *Icones stirpium rariorum*, that his plant is by no means different from the *I. rugosum* of König, who likewise pitched upon this name to denote the wrinkled appearance of the glumes. These *rugæ*, it should however be observed, are not peculiar to that species; *I. aristatum* is likewise provided with them, though distinguishable from the former, by its glumes being at the same time longitudinally striated.

*Rottbællia incurvata* and *corymbosa* are made to form a genus, called *Ophiurus*. It is characterized by the filiform, not really articulated, spikes, and each apparent joint having only one noded flower. Another character, which distinguishes this genus from *Rottbællia*, is here stated to be the hermaphrodite nature of all the *flosculi*; though we are immediately after told, that in *O. incurvata* more female florets were found than hermaphrodite ones, and none but male ones in *O. corymbosa*. This appears to be contradictory. Of neither of these species the author has seen the seeds; nor had we an opportunity to observe them in the latter: but, in the former, we know them to be of an oval, plano-convex form, and crowned with some upright bristles. Besides these, and *Rottbællia dimidiata* L., we find two other graminæ described here, viz. *Olyra latifolia*, whose male flowers, contrary to what we learn from other authorities, are said to be furnished with a corolla; and *Lygeum Spartum*, of which, however, we possess already the excellent description and figure of Richard in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire Nat. de Paris*, though not added to the synonymy by the younger Gærtner. *Restio dichotomus*, described and figured as such in the second volume of this carpological work, is here referred to Thunberg's *Willdenowia*. As an example of a real *Restio*, *R. scariosus* is given, and the distinctive characters that separate the former genus from it are stated to consist, 1. in the female

female calyx being solitary, top-shaped, and composed of several scales ; 2. in the uniform rosaceous corolla, furnished at its base with a proper spongy receptacle ; and, 3. in the solitary nut exceeding the calyx four times in length. Nearly related to both these genera is *Elegia*, but sufficiently distinct in having a capsular fruit of several cells. The annulated appearance of the seed of *Gahnia procera* is extremely remarkable ; it resembles the larva of an insect, and is therefore termed *campomorphum*.

The second plate (tab. 182.) contains the genera *Dilatris*, *Masonia*, *Renealmia*, *Arctopus*, *Escallonia*, *Coprosma*, and *Dammacanthus*. The last of these names, the composition of which we cannot help admiring, is given to a genus of the natural order of the *Rubiaceæ*. To judge from the fruit (sent by Thunberg as *Carissa spinarum*), it approaches but too near the *Canthium* of Lamarck. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to observe, that the *Webera* of Schreber (*Rondeletia asiatica* L.) is by no means a congener of *Canthium*, as Willdenow makes it ; but how the former botanist came to describe the fruit as containing only one seed, we are unable to tell : to us their number appeared to be from six to eight.

A very good and complete figure is given of the flowers and fruit of *Renealmia pendula*, a real *Tillandsia* ; which latter generic name ought to have been retained by Dr Gærtner jun., the former being already given to a genus of the natural order of *Scitamineæ*. The seeds of this species (which, by the way, is not a nondescript, but the same with *Tillandsia nutans* of Swartz) are very singularly constructed : they appear wrapt up in a close web of fibres, which, at the top, form a crown, improperly called *Pappus* by describers, and at the base an appendage of the same nature as the crown, but with the fibres glued together so as to form a cone. Some observations might have been added respecting the species of this genus, which stands in great need of reexamination : the generic character, as here given, is certainly applicable to a few only, especially as far as it relates to the fruit and seeds.

We were particularly desirous to become better acquainted with the pericarp and seeds of *Escallonia*, in order to be enabled safely to fix its place in the natural series ; but all we learn here, in addition to what is known already by Smith's description, is, that the dissepiment of the berry appears cleft in the middle, and both the edges turned inward into one of the cells.

The description and delineation of that singular vegetable *Arctopus echinatus*, is more satisfactory. The nature of its sterile or male plant, is perhaps less involved in obscurity, than it appears to our author. He says,

‘ Cum mascula planta constantissime sterilis sit, licet quaternos aut quinos in singulo involucro habeat flosculos femineos, mirandum, unde

suam trahat originem formamque propriam? Nam vix credibile, quod pollen flosculorum masculorum plantæ fertilis suas semellas impregnans, possit alias plantas producere, quam matribus suis simillimas. Ergo statuendum, aut quod pollen ex planta sterili, quandoque fecundet ovaria plantæ fertilis, unde proles a matre diversa; aut quod pollen plantæ fertilis producere possit fœtus, in totum forma et destinatione diversos: id quod autem miraculo foret proximum, quia hoc in casu flosculi masculi plantæ sterilis præter omnem scopum atque necessitatem a natura fuissent producti. Habentur quidem exempla variarum plantarum sexu et forma diversarum, et tamen ab eodem polline productarum; sed exemplum plantæ *perfectæ et ex naturâ instituto sterilis*, istoque modo gignitæ, nulum, quod sciam, habetur.

The male plant in this case (by no means perfect, nor probably 'ex naturâ instituto sterilis,' being furnished with the rudiments of the female flowers) appears to be morbidly, though habitually, steril by abortion; a phenomenon observable in almost all the polygamous, and many of the dioecious plants. Nor is it unfrequent among plants that at first sight appear to be really hermaphrodite; such as several of the *Sapindi*, in which the stamina of the flowers of one stem will increase at the expense of the ovary, which ceases to grow; while those of the female or fertile plant are found to contain incomplete anthers without any pollen. In the same manner, what appear complete stamina in the male flowers of the fertile plant of *Arctopus*, may possibly be imperfect, so that the influence of the other plant is requisite in order to effect fecundation.

*Coprosma* is one of those genera with whose fructification we are but little acquainted, even after the description and figure here given of *C. lucida*, which, it may be remembered, does not appear to be that described by Foster under this name. We perfectly agree with Dr Gærtner, that this genus belongs to the *Rubiaceæ*, and not to the *Umbellifere*; nor, indeed, do we know by whose ingenuity it has been referred to the latter natural order. As Mr Brown of this city has most probably met with several of its species, in his interesting botanical expedition to New Holland, we may expect that this very acute naturalist will soon throw more light upon the history of the genus.

The two following plates (tab. 83. 84.) appear to us, more than the rest of this number, in the style and spirit of those of the preceding volumes; and, indeed, the specimens from which the figures are made (except *Hydropityon*, on which we shall remark by and by) were so complete as to admit of that copiousness in the descriptions, which constitutes the chief merit of that work. Though several of the plants they represent are far from being uncommon, such as *Cyclamen europæum*, *Soldanella alpina*, *Illecebrum verticillatum*, *Coris*, *Glaux*, &c. yet their fruits and seeds were

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by no means so well understood as it might be expected. With regard to *Cyclamen*, for instance, we are even now uncertain whether its embryo be of one or two cotyledons. Dr Gærtner, the father, in describing *Cycl. europæum*, makes no mention of these organs, though fig. *K*. in the plate represents something like a dicotyledonous embryo; upon which his son has made the following remark.

‘Embryo in hac stirpe admodum fallax est; in plurimis enim exemplis quæ pater defunctus scrutinio subiecit, ad unum omnes invenit totos solidos; quamvis omnes oculorum intenderit nervos, optimasque adhibuerit lentes. Ex figura autem *K*, post descriptionem factam adjecta, elucet, ipsum tandem denique unicum ex centenis reperiisse embryonem dicotyledoneum, de quo autem in descriptione ne verbum quidem fecit. Embryo itaque revera dicotyledoneus est, cotyledonibus autem, in plurimis exemplis, brevissimis et vix ac ne vix quidem discernibilibus.’

But should we not rather suspect, that the solitary observation alluded to was founded in an optical or accidental deception, and that the embryo of *Cyclamen* is really of one lobe only? The general habit of the genus (though furnished both with calyx and corolla) would appear to be in favour of this supposition.

We shall now say a word or two of some of the rarer plants contained in these two plates, and begin with *Hydropityon zeylanicum*. Its description is deficient with regard to the interior structure of the fruit and the seeds. From the generic character, however, and the figure, we are enabled to say, that the subjoined synonymis, of which the leading one is *Tsiunda-Tsiera Hort. Malab.* 12. t. 36, are all completely wrong. It cannot be doubted that the plant just mentioned of the Hortus Malabaricus, is the *Hottonia indica* L., and that both, again, are the same with *Gratiola trifida*; an observation also made by the late Professor Vahl in his ‘Enumeratio Plantarum.’ Though Gærtner could not know this, it is still surprising that a botanist of his accuracy should not have found out the dissimilarity between his plant and that of Rhede’s work, especially as the latter is described as having only two stamina, and a corolla entirely different from that of *Hydropityon*. To enable our readers to judge for themselves, we copy Gærtner’s generic character.

‘HYDROPITYON.—*Cal.* inferus, pentaphyllus: foliolis ovatis concavis magnis incumbentibus. *Cor.* pentapetala calyce paulo brevior: petalis ovato rotundatis concavis. *Stam.* 10: filamentis crassis brevibus, apice dorso antherarum et basi receptaculo genitalium carnofo et mollior longeque villoso insertus: antheris obosis cordatis bilocularibus. *Ovar.* superum oblongum deflexum in *stylum* simplicem, *sigmate* orbiculato præpilatum. *Cass.* monosperma, aut semen nudum compressum sulcatum.’

Both the figure and description of *Doræna japonica*, Thunb.

are very instructive. The dry berry (*angidium coriaceum*) of this plant has the peculiarity of being crowned at the top with five squamæ clinging closely to the stile, and conveying the idea of a *calyx superus*. Were it not that this fruit has been communicated, (as are almost all the rest here described and figured) by Professor Thunberg himself, we should have doubted its being the plant taken up under that name in the *Flora Japonica*, where we looked in vain for the description of the scales now mentioned; though, according to Gærtner, they constitute almost exclusively the essential character of the genus! Another genus of the *Flora Japonica* is *Deuzia*, whose place in the natural series appears to be problematical. We are inclined to believe, in opposition both to Thunberg and Gærtner, that the calyx in this genus is really adherent; and, indeed, Kämpfer speaks of it as a 'Caliculus globosus carnosus, fructus futuri, ut apparet, rudimentum.' In the figure of *Torenia asiatica*, the fruit is well enough represented; but the corolla, professedly drawn from fancy, is objectionable both in regard to size and shape.

The last of those five plates, which we consider as the late Dr Gærtner's own, throws light on some fruits which were not well known before, such as *Halleria lucida*, *Ourisia* of Commerson, and *Disandra Prostrata*. But with regard to *Sarcodactylis*, contained in the same plate, our author labours under a strange mistake. Those who have opportunities of seeing Chinese drawings of vegetables, must have often met in them with a large, strange looking yellow fruit, fantastically grown out at its widened top into fleshy appendages, which bear a distant resemblance to fingers, especially if they are only five in number, which is often the case. This is nothing else than the fruit of a species of *Citrus*, and probably a monstrosity; it contains no seeds, but is generally furnished with some irregular loculaments. The figure here given is undoubtedly that of such a lemon, of the smaller sort; but Dr Gærtner mistakes it for the fruit of the famous hand-bearing plant, the *Macpualxochi-quahuatl* of the Mexicans, figured in Hernandez's work, from whence it is erroneously quoted by Linnæus as a synonym of his *Helicteres apetala*. To reconcile the dissimilarity subsisting between his figure and that of Hernandez, the author calls the latter 'miserrima;' an epithet which, however applicable it may be to most of the figures of that insignificant work, is less so in this case. It gives a tolerably good idea of what it is intended to represent.

The five last plates present us with the first results of the younger Dr Gærtner's carpological tour and subsequent labours. They are seven genera, four of them entirely new, namely, *Shorea*, Roxb. MSS.; *Dryobalanops*, *Dipterocarpus*, and *Lophira*, Banks's MSS.

MSS. Their appearance is singularly beautiful, from the lucinia of the calyx growing out, after the flowering is over, into long wings, covering the pericarp, and of different shape in the different genera. The construction of the embryo of the three former is remarkably complicated, but pretty well explained both by the descriptions and figures. With regard to his *Dryobalanops*, we notice two errors: first, this excellent timber-tree is not, as here stated, a native of Ceylon, but of Sumatra; and, secondly, it does not yield cinnamon, but camphor, known by the name of the Sumatra camphor, and mentioned by Kämpfer, and also by Mr Marlden in his account of that island. Besides these, we have *Vateria indica*, *Genipa americana*, and *Tocoyena* of Aublet. The first of these genera being referred by Retzius and his followers to *Elaeocarpus*, affords another proof how little attention botanists pay to the fruit; for even Rhede's figure shews how little it has to do with that genus.

We cannot dismiss this work without expressing our wishes that no obstacles may arise to its uninterrupted continuation; and, at the same time, exhorting its author not to sacrifice to expedition the proper selection of his materials, or the accuracy of his delineations and engravings. Dr Gærtner cannot fail to know what anxious diligence his father bestowed upon the latter, and that he was even in the habit of sending proofs to London, for the inspection of an eminent botanical artist then residing in that city.

ART. V. *On an Artificial Substance which possesses the principal Characteristic properties of Tannin.* By Charles Hatchett, Esq F. R. S.

*Additional Experiments and Remarks on an Artificial Substance which possesses the principal Characteristic properties of Tannin.* By the same Author. From Phil. Trans. for 1805. Part II.

WE have generally contented ourselves with selecting from the memoirs of academies the papers most interesting, either for novelty or merit, and have passed over the rest, without attempting to give any account of their contents. In pursuance of this plan, we are now to direct the attention of our readers towards some of the most curious and important speculations that are to be found in the late volumes of the Royal Society's Transactions. Much as Mr Hatchett has contributed to the advancement of chemical science on former occasions, we think the services which these recent inquiries render to that branch



branch of knowledge, are of a different and a higher cast. As they are contained in two papers, we have thought it right to take them together, and consider them as parts of the same investigation.

Before Mr Hatchett entered upon this course of experiments, it had never been supposed that tannin could be produced artificially. Mr Chenevix had indeed found, that a decoction of coffee berries had not the quality of precipitating gelatine, unless they were previously roasted; and hence it might be concluded that the process of burning produced tannin. But this was only an indistinct and imperfect inference, and we were still left to regard tannin as exclusively prepared by nature. The inquiries of Mr Hatchett, however, place this matter in a new light, and warrant the conclusion, that if not tannin itself, at least a body resembling it in its chief characteristic properties, of precipitating gelatine, and rendering skins of animals insoluble in water and imputrescible, may be obtained by a simple process, both from vegetable, mineral, and animal matter.

When nitrous acid is digested upon asphaltum, jet, or other bitumens, containing a portion of uncombined carbonaceous matter, a yellow viscid substance is separated, perfectly similar to that which we obtain by the same process with resins; but the remainder of the solution is a dark brown colour, and has different properties. The former consists of the essential portion of the bitumen; the latter of the uncombined carbonaceous matter. A similar product is obtained from the various kinds of mineral coal; but those which contain no bitumen, yield none of the yellow solution. Having by this process of digestion with nitrous acid, obtained the dark brown solutions from bitumens, coals, and charcoal, they were evaporated to dryness, and the residua examined. They reddened vegetable infusions, were highly astringent, and separated glue or isinglass from their solution in water, forming a precipitate quite insoluble, either in hot or cold water. A similar product was obtained from digesting isinglass itself in nitric acid; and the solution of isinglass in water being added to the substance procured from the digestion of isinglass with acid, the isinglass was precipitated from the water in an insoluble form: uncharred wood, or even bovey coal, which had the appearance of being only half charred, yielded none of this substance by treatment with nitrous acid; but when charred, the same bodies gave it in great abundance.

Our author having been engaged in an interesting course of experiments upon the production of coals in the humid way, he found, that by uniting the results of this inquiry with the pro-  
cesses.

cess which forms the main subject of the present investigation, much new light was thrown upon the latter. When sulphuric acid, for example, is digested upon turpentine or resin, the oxygen of the former uniting with the hydrogen and carbon of the latter, severally, leaves the acid in the state of sulphureous acid, and produces water and coal. If the process is carried on gradually, before the coal is obtained, we get successively yellow resin, brown resin, and black resin. Now, Mr Hatchett digested with nitric acid, first turpentine itself, then these three resins obtained from the treatment of turpentine with sulphuric acid, and lastly, the coal which is formed at the close of the same process. Neither the turpentine, nor the yellow nor the brown resin, gave any of the tanning substance; the black resin yielded a considerable portion of it, and the coal a great abundance. Other substances, reduced to coal by the same process, yielded the tanning residuum with equal facility; as various woods, copal, amber and wax. Nor is the treatment with nitrous acid the only method of obtaining this tanning substance, from coals made in the humid way. For after resins have been long digested with sulphuric acid, so as to give coal, if they are then digested with alcohol, a solution is obtained, which consists, in part, of the substance in question. Our author ingeniously conjectures, that some process of this sort takes place naturally in several formations of peat; and thus accounts for the complete tanning which is frequently found to go on in those mosses where animal bodies have been buried.

The substance resembling tannin, which our author's experiments yielded, was employed with perfect success in tanning skins. This operation he effected with ease, by means of sawdust, pit-coal, wax-candle, part of the skin itself, and various other materials, not hitherto suspected of subserviency to such a process.

The only property in which this artificial substance seems at first sight to differ from tannin, is, that the former is produced by means of nitric acid; whereas, the latter is destroyed by it. In order to examine the particulars of this diversity, our author instituted several experiments. The artificial substance was subjected to repeated distillations with nitric acid, and found to remain unchanged. The precipitate of gelatine by the artificial substance, was washed and dried, and then digested in nitric acid, which acted powerfully on it, and formed a dark solution with evolution of nitrous gas. The solution being evaporated to dryness, and dissolved in water, was found to have the same action on isinglass, acetite of lead, &c. as the substance which had not undergone these operations. The solutions of this substance,

stance, are also quite indestructible by the putrefactive process. Nor do they become mouldy like those of galls, sumach, &c. But are there no varieties in point of destructibility among the different sorts of natural tannin? Our author thinks that his experiments entitle him to answer this question in the affirmative. For having compared, in this respect, the solutions obtained from galls, sumach, oak-wood and oak-bark, he found that the last was much less destructible by treatment with nitrous acid, than the other three, though the artificial product was still less affected by the acid than any.

The artificial substance hitherto considered, owes its origin to digestion of nitric acid upon charcoal, whether of animal, vegetable, or mineral bodies. But it appears that a similar product may be obtained from the exhibition of this acid to bodies not in a charred or coally state; and that the process of charring only assists the production of the tanning substance, by favouring the separation of the carbonaceous particles from the other ingredients of the mass. Our author ascertained this important point by well conducted experiments, first with indigo, a body known to contain a large portion of carbon. Nitric acid acted violently upon this substance; and the application of a gentle heat was employed to evaporate the solution: The residuum being dissolved in water, was found to contain a large tincture of the tanning substance; other bodies, though in a less degree, yet sensibly yield the same product, by repeated digestions and distillations with nitric acid. Thus, common resin, stick lac, balsam of Peru, benzoin, balsam of Tolu, all gave the tanning substance by digestion with nitric acid; and from these experiments, and others which he details with a variety of different bodies, our author is induced to think, that there are very few vegetable substances from which a quantity of the tanning compound may not be obtained, by means of the same acid properly exhibited to them.

Many vegetable substances yield, by decoction, after being roasted, a liquor resembling tannin; but Mr Hatchett found it very difficult to apply the precise degree of heat which is required to develop whatever tannin they may contain. Even coffee did not yield a precipitate till some time had elapsed, and then it was soluble in boiling water; but what he calls a 'coffee prepared from the chicoric root,' gave a precipitate, soluble indeed in boiling water, but reproduced when the water cooled. All these decoctions, when treated with nitric acid, yielded a tanning substance similar to that obtained in the former course of experiments.

From the whole it appears, that the artificial substance resembling tannin may be produced in three several ways; by digestion of  
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of nitric acid on any carbonaceous substance, animal, vegetable, or mineral; by distilling the same acid from indigo, resins, and various other substances; by treating resin, camphor, &c. with alcohol, after they have previously been digested with sulphuric acid. Of these three methods, the first is that which produces the substance most easily, and in the greatest abundance, a hundred grains of vegetable charcoal yielding about 116 of the substance.

The properties of the body in question are justly deemed by Mr Hatchett to be very singular. Not only its entire resemblance to tannin, except in its relation to nitric acid, but several other particulars in its habitudes, merit our notice. If a portion of this substance, procured from pure vegetable charcoal, be exposed dry to the action of heat, it emits an odour resembling that of burnt feathers, horn, and other animal bodies. If it is exposed in a retort to the distilling process, a red heat sends off the superfluous moisture, and nitrous fumes also rise into the retort; when the heat is pushed higher, a white cloud suddenly fills the apparatus, saline matter is found on the retort, and gas escapes, almost with explosive force. This is evidently caused by the evolution of ammoniacal gas, which unites with the nitrous fumes, and forms, as usual, a cloud of nitrate of ammonia. Hence the artificial substance consists of hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, with a base of carbon; and, as our author had taken every precaution to exclude impurities from the charcoal employed in his experiments for obtaining the substance upon which he operated, he was led to infer, with much confidence, as a corollary from the experiments last mentioned, that hydrogen exists in charcoal; but further consideration, he admits, had induced him to suspend this judgment; for he has always found the dilution of the nitric acid employed in his experiments favour in an eminent degree the formation of the tanning substance; and this would seem to indicate, that the hydrogen which goes to the composition of that body owes its origin to the water.

The different varieties of this substance exhibit some little diversity of properties. That which is obtained from carbonaceous bodies, by digestion with nitrous acid, is much more abundantly produced than either of the other species; the precipitates which it yields with gelatine are of a deep brown colour, while the colour of the second variety is bright yellow; both these varieties are more powerful in their action upon skin than the third, which, moreover, seems not to contain any nitrogen; at least, such is our author's inference from considering the manner of its formation; and by this deficiency in its composition he thinks  
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its inferior strength may be explained. But upon these matters he promises a further communication.

We have little to add upon the substance, as we have now given it, of these speculations. Their importance can as little be questioned as their general accuracy and solidity. We are disposed to view the discovery of Mr Hatchett as one of the most valuable that have been for many years presented to the chemical world, whether we view it as introducing us to the knowledge of a new body, or as shewing how, in all probability, a known substance is elaborated by Nature in the process of vegetation. By prosecuting these interesting inquiries, we are sanguine in our hopes that much light will be thrown upon the physiology of plants; and entertain very little doubt that Mr Hatchett is on the eve of an improvement, perhaps the most valuable that has been made in the useful arts in modern times.

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ART. VI. *Journal des Mines, publié par l'Agence des Mines de la République.* NO. I. 8vo. Paris. An 3.

THE plan of this periodical publication, the mass of important and accurate information which it contains, and the laudable zeal for the prosecution of scientific and practical mineralogy which we trust it will excite in our own country, have induced us to give a short account of it from the commencement of the series. It cannot be expected, however, that we should dwell on many of the articles separately. Those, for example, which require the illustration of plates, or are already too compressed, or are copied from other works, or which, from their nature, are not susceptible of abridgement or analysis, we shall not regard as belonging to our cognizance. Thus we are compelled to pass in silence various descriptions of machinery; some excellent crystallographical papers by Haüy, &c.; delineations of subterraneous workings; sections of local stratification; the condensed forms of several valuable memoirs; interesting analytical results obtained by Klaproth, Vauquelin and others, and which are now generally known through other channels; various extracts and translations from the transactions of learned bodies, and from foreign or domestic publications; and such communications as are of a strictly technical or tabular aspect.

As our intention is rather to give our readers an idea of the plan on which the work proceeds, and to invite those whom it may concern to peruse its contents, than to scrutinize its merits with critical minuteness, we shall even abstain from the mode of disquisition in reporting such articles as have chiefly attracted our attention,

attention, and shall, in most cases, be contented with intimating their object and principal results.

In the most stormy and eventful<sup>a</sup> period of the French revolution, the Committee of Public Safety instituted a Board of Mines, consisting of three members. Subordinate to them were eight inspectors, twelve engineers, and forty pupils. The annual salary of the inspectors was fixed at 6000 livres, of the engineers at 3000, and of the pupils at 1500, not including travelling expenses. The inspectors and engineers were proposed by the members of the Board, and approved by the Committee of Safety; and the nomination of the pupils was determined by a public comparative trial. Inspectors, engineers, and pupils were enjoined to travel eight months in the year, and to reside the remaining four at Paris. Two pupils were assigned by lot to each inspector and engineer, to accompany them on their professional mission. The French territory, in regard to the mining department, was divided into eight circles. To the annual survey of each circle one inspector and one engineer were appointed by lot; and each of these officers examined the same circle for two successive years. The four supernumerary engineers were destined to replace such of their colleagues as happened to be indisposed, or employed by government in other functions.

The principal duties required of the inspectors and engineers in their mineralogical tours, were the visitation of mines, the communication of useful advice to the directors of the works, and inspection of the machinery, &c. with regard to solidity and the safety of the workmen. They were, moreover, instructed to visit founderies, and all establishments connected with the mining art, and to favour the directors of such establishments with suitable hints and suggestions. They were particularly desired to instruct their pupils, and to give them practical lessons on all matters connected with their profession. Besides collecting specimens of all the fossil substances contained in the circle, and forwarding the collection, with proper catalogues, to the Board at Paris, they were requested to sketch plans of their discoveries; to detail the practical operations which obtain in founderies and manufactories connected with mining; to make drawings of machines, furnaces, and of the modes of working under ground; to keep a register of their travelling stations, and of the substances which they found, and the experiments which they made at each; and to transmit their memoirs, journals, and drawings, once in ten days, to the Board. When they discovered any fossil substance which could be turned to good account, they were to invite the proprietors of the ground, or, in their default, the nearest inhabitants, to work it, and to afford them every encouragement, assistance,

sistance, and facility in their power. During their residence in Paris, they were to meet twice in the decade, and furnish the Board with such information and documents as might be wanted, discuss questions relative to proposed improvements, and prepare plans for increasing the quantity and produce of mining labour. In the intervals of these conferences, they were to be occupied in revising and digesting the observations which they had noted in their journeys, in conducting the consequent experiments, in committing to writing newly introduced improvements, and in analyzing specimens which the Board might judge it proper to submit to their examination.

In addition to those details, the inspectors were charged to read gratuitous and public lectures twice in the decade, from 16th Brumaire to 14th Pluviose, on mineralogy and physical geography, on the extraction and assaying of ores, and on the various operations of metallurgy.

The house allotted to the conferences and courses of instruction, was to be furnished with an appropriate library, collections of models, plans, and drawings, an assaying laboratory, and a mineral cabinet, containing specimens of all the known fossil productions of the globe, and especially of those of the republic, arranged according to their localities.

The members of the Board had also their line of conduct distinctly pointed out, as appears by the following resolutions of the Committee of Public Safety.

‘ II. This Board will take cognizance of the inspectors, engineers, and pupils of mines.

‘ III. The Board will correspond directly with all the lessees and workers of mines.

‘ IV. It will direct its attention to the extraction of metallic ores of every description; to the various modes of treating them; to the requisite instructions for determining the nature and the working of all sorts of earths and stones; to the procuring of combustible fossils, as pit-coal, jet, petroleum, turf, sulphur, &c. and to their preparation; to the manufacture of muriate of soda, or common salt, whether obtained from rock-salt in the bowels of the earth, or from saline springs and sea-water; to the extraction, preparation, and purifying of fossil salts and metallic oxydes, such as the sulphates of soda, magnesia, alumina, zinc, iron, copper, and the oxydes of lead, copper, iron, &c. except saltpetre and potash.

‘ V. It will prepare, with the least possible delay, distinct expostitions of every thing relative to the existence and working of mines, and transmit them regularly to the Commissioners for Arms.

‘ VI. It will propose to these Commissioners the leases to be granted, the advances to be made, and the encouragements to be given, that the Commissioners may submit them to the Committee of Public Safety.

‘ VII.

‘ VII: It will publish a Journal of Mines, agreeably to the terms of a prospectus which shall be approved by the said Committee. ’

By another order, it is provided, that the inspectors and engineers shall furnish memoirs and drawings, to be inserted in the Journal.

Thus, we see, that the volumes now under consideration only form a part of a great and patriotic scheme, of which we have merely traced the outline, and which, since its commencement, has received various modifications, and given birth to much able and useful discussion. However much we may disapprove of the direct interference of Government in matters of private right, and though we must reprobate the coercive regulations imposed on the colliers who supply the Parisian market, we can entertain little doubt, that a National Council of Mines, vested with limited powers, and acting from pure and enlightened motives, would greatly contribute to promote the industry and the resources of a people already blessed with rational freedom, with capital, and with aptitude to habits of mechanical operations. When we reflect on the comparative poverty of our neighbours, on the levity of their dispositions, and on the long series of public calamities in which they have been involved, it is not a little surprising that they should exhibit to Europe so striking an example of patience, diligence, and talents, successfully directed to those pursuits which are usually supposed to imply years of peace, wealth, and leisure.

We have likewise to remark, that the proceedings of the French mineralogists, as recorded in these pages, breathe a most commendable spirit of frankness and confidence, remote from those national jealousies and those individual suspicions which have long hid treasures from the public eye, and concealed, for the benefit of a few, those discoveries which might conduce to the comfort of the many. The fossil contents of each district, so far as they have been ascertained, the invention of new machines, and the discovery of processes by which labour is abridged, its produce multiplied, or valuable results are obtained, have been generously exposed to all who can profit by the information.

In another point of view, the labours of those gentlemen have strong claims on our approbation. So far, at least, as our examination has yet extended, no paper of a merely theoretical complexion has been inserted in their Numbers; but the object of all, is either to establish facts, or to convey knowledge which may be directly converted to some useful purpose. He who surveys the superficial structure of our globe, in the spirit of candid and dispassionate inquiry, will probably soon perceive the futility of all those systems of world-making, which have been propounded with so much pomp and confidence, but which are so inadequate



so the solution of many of the most common phenomena. The intelligent and unbiassed geologist is he who aims to accumulate accurate observations, and who is contented to admire when he cannot comprehend. The careful perusal of such a work as that now before us, will naturally shake our belief either in the Aqueous or Igneous theory, and leave us at liberty to widen the basis of our inductive reasonings, or, perhaps, to wait, in wholesome scepticism, the issue of that rapid progress in chemical knowledge, which may one day unveil some of the mysteries which every where encompass our path.

That the publication in question contains no irrelevant matter, it were vain to contend. Declamatory allusions to French triumphs, and to French *liberty*, have sometimes interrupted our pursuit of a metallic vein : but vanity is the passion of the nation ; and we must confess, that, in a work conducted under the immediate auspices of the Government, we had laid our account with more frequent instances of similar intrusions.

On some occasions, we have regretted the ambiguity or absurdity of the style ; on others, an over condensation of the materials. A few of the communications have appeared trifling, and a few evidently erroneous ; the display of machinery is far from brilliant, and by no means what we might expect from the profound manner in which the theory of mechanics has been investigated in France ; and, lastly, the extracts from other works denote neither latitude of range, nor peculiar felicity of selection. Yet, after all these abatements, we have still to learn that there exists any other work which, in the same bulk, comprises the same quantity of authentic and valuable information on the subjects which it professes to expound.

But it is now time to say something of the particular contributions ; only premising, that, from the detached nature of the essays, our remarks must unavoidably assume a very desultory form.

The mineralogical description of the Boulonais is one of the many proofs of the anxiety with which the French now search for coal. It does not appear, however, that their public-spirited efforts in this district have been attended with the desired success. The old workings will, in all probability, be soon exhausted. The coal, also, which is obtained from them, is very liable to decomposition, and, sometimes, to spontaneous inflammation in the atmosphere. This portion of country likewise contains various beds of black, brown, and grey marble. A vertical vein, of three or four feet in thickness, and of the same quality with the horizontal layers, traverses them all, without deranging their position. This geological phenomenon is only noticed incidentally, the paper being abridged from the communications of Duhamel, Monnet, and

and Mallet, officers of mines ; and from those of Tresset, of the commune of Boulogne, with a view to economical purposes.

The ‘ Sketch of mineral substances worked in France, and of their commercial value previous to the revolution,’ would, if properly treated, have formed an interesting memoir : but it is vague and superficial, and has little reference to the title till towards the conclusion. We are then informed that the balance of trade, in mineral commodities, was, in 1787, against France, 36,569,000 livres. Gillet’s table of the mineral substances exported and imported during that year is annexed, and forms a curious statistical document.

On the subject of ‘ Peat-earth ’ we meet with some important details from Messrs Girond, Blavier, Ribaucourt, &c. The increasing scarcity of fuel has recently turned the attention of the public to the state of the turbaries in various parts of the country ; and the turf which was formerly despised or unobserved, now becomes an object of eager search. Besides the extensive morasses along the Somme and the Essonne, which seem to have been used at an early period, many other situations are enumerated, in which this combustible substance is found in greater or less abundance.

So far back as the beginning of the 17th century, the industrious and ingenious M. Lamberville introduced the charring of peat into France. The Dutch were acquainted with the process long prior to that date ; but, owing to the use of coal, it has been little attended to in Great Britain. In those districts of our island, however, in which no coal has been found, and particularly in the Highlands of Scotland, the subject of peat-mosses cannot be too minutely investigated. For the present, we shall forbear making any extracts from these communications, in the hope that the Highland Society, or some other patriotic corporation, will give directions for translating the whole, or at least the most important passages.

The ‘ Observations on the Salt-springs of Salins, by Hassenfratz,’ we have perused with pleasure. According to this ingenious chemist, the highest hills which surround Salins are of primitive limestone, which is very hard, mixed with clay, and has a testaceous fracture, but contains no shells. Contiguous to these hills are others, composed of limestone of secondary formation, and abounding with shells. In this secondary limestone are found masses and thin layers of gypsum, which is quarried in different places. There are three distinct salt-springs, the strongest of which contains 23 per cent. of salt, and the weakest only 1. As not only the quantity, but also the strength of these sources is increased very soon after rain, it is inferred that they proceed from some natural magazine of rock-salt in the neighbourhood.

bourhood. M. Haüy very properly remarks, that a considerable quantity of fuel might be saved, by allowing these waters to pass through the dripping-houses till reduced to saturation. In a subsequent paper, the same author suggests some expedients for the further economy of the heat employed in the evaporating process, particularly the addition of small pans near the large one, to give employment to the superfluous flame. By placing these supplementary vessels a little above each other, so as to be conveniently emptied with syphons, the water might be gradually heated as it came from the reservoir, and gradually part with the selenite and sulphate of soda, which it holds in solution.

‘History of the Decomposition of Common Salt,’ &c. This paper manifests the ingenuity of its authors. But, until cheaper modes of obtaining soda, than those here recommended, can be pointed out, it will be adviseable not to renounce the incineration of such vegetables as are known to yield this important article of commerce. On this part of the subject some valuable hints may be gleaned from the notes. The manufacture of kelp on our shores is susceptible of much extension and improvement. Exclusively of various species of *algæ*, some of our maritime plants are known to contain the fixed mineral alkali in such a proportion as to render them objects of culture. We may mention, in particular, *Salicornia herbacea*, *S. fruticosa*, *Salsola kali*, and *Chenopodium maritimum*. It even appears from Lorgna’s observations, that some of the thistle tribe, particularly the artichoke, yield a considerable quantity of the same substance, when reared on the sea-shore. We presume, then, to indulge the pleasing hope, that waste tracts of coast may be speedily transformed into productive soil.

‘Of Fires in Coal Pits.’ Under this title the ordinary causes of such fires, and the ordinary means of extinguishing them, are judiciously indicated by the Conference of Mines. The following hint, however, has at least the merit of novelty. ‘Perhaps some method may be devised of procuring at pleasure, and in a sufficient quantity, the carbonic gas, the simple contact of which quickly extinguishes flame. Difficulties might still occur in the first attempts to introduce and convey it round the ignited mass; but the science of mechanics is now too well understood, not to insure success.’

The two memoirs ‘on the Mineralogy of the Department of Mont Blanc,’ are principally occupied with accounts of mines which were already known. Saussure’s notices of the iron mine of St George in Maurienne, is not the least interesting of these details. As an instance of the poverty of the forgermen, he paints one of them, with grey hairs and tattered garments, who  
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was preparing his dinner. ‘ This dinner consisted of a large *crow*, which he was plucking by the dim light of the embers of his furnace. On the same embers his pot was boiling; and he every now and then dipped his *crow* into it, that he might soften and pluck his morsel with the greater ease. What a fine subject for the pencil of Teniers ! ’

‘ The Mineralogical Report of the Department of the Channel ’ presents us with little deserving of particular notice. Both the lead and quicksilver mines have been repeatedly abandoned; and a deficiency of coal renders the propriety of their resumption still problematical. The preparation of salt from sea-sand, which, we understand, is practised on a small scale in a corner of Dumfriesshire, is, in this department, conducted on a more extensive and beneficial plan.

M. Duhamel’s prize memoir ‘ on Coal,’ even in the form of an abstract, presents us with several important results, but which have by no means the attraction of novelty to British mineralogists.

M. Girard enters into a long, learned, and plausible disquisition ‘ on the present, past, and *future* State of the Valley of Somme.’ His reasonings rest on the supposition that France and England were once joined by an isthmus; that the tides rose to a much greater height on the coasts of Picardy and the Boulonais than they do at present; and that the turbaries of the valley of Somme were gradually deposited, and formed in a large lake, at a period when the river had not found its present issue.

‘ General Observations on the Nature of the Carpathian Mountains in Upper Hungary, &c. By Citizen Lefebvre, Member of the Board of Mines.’ It appears from this rapid survey, that the first, or most elevated chain of these mountains, consists of granite, which is frequently covered with calcareous masses; that the second chain is chiefly formed of a compound primitive rock, consisting of alternate bands of quartz and mica, though mountains strictly granitical also occur; and that the third chain is mostly composed of a species of porphyry or jasper, interspersed with minute crystals of feldspar and mica. In this last chain are situated the celebrated mines of Kremnitz, Schemnitz, &c. which give employment to twenty thousand individuals, and produce gold, silver, lead, and copper. At Schemnitz, which lies nearest the centre of these extensive workings, the Empress Maria Theresa established a mineralogical academy, which vies with that of Freyberg, and to which individuals from all countries resort to be instructed in the arts of mining and metallurgy. In the porphyry mountains are likewise found calcareous masses and thermal waters. But the red

schorl, so much coveted by the mineralogist, occurs in a mountain of the second chain.

‘The mountain which contained this red schorl appeared to me remarkable on account of its structure; the circumjacent hills being all composed of gneiss, or primitive slaty rock, whereas it differs from them in the arrangement of its constituent parts. The quartz and the mica, in place of being deposited in alternate and nearly parallel layers, have formed identical masses. It is thus that the quartz occurs in large portions, imbedded in very thick layers of flexible mica, that is greasy to the touch like talc. Sometimes nothing but these layers of mica are to be seen, and disposed either in a horizontal, or almost perpendicular direction, or even winding, and presenting no uniformity of position.

‘I have remarked with astonishment, blocks of granite on the surface of this mountain; but, as I have not seen it in a continuous mass, I am inclined to believe that these blocks are foreign to the mountain, and that they have been conveyed to it from the higher chain by the waters.

‘This observation, however, applies not to the quartz, which obviously enters into the composition of the mountain, and is of contemporaneous formation with the layers of mica. The fracture of these quartz masses frequently reveals thin layers of mica, which were apparent on the outside, and which have been enveloped in the confused crystallization of the quartz.

‘Though our researches and observations about this mountain occupied two entire days, we could discover the red schorl only in one spot, at the base. We first observed it in the quartz, running along in a very narrow band, and uniformly directed from *north east* to *south-west*, as if it had been a metallic vein. The quartz in which it occurred presented, on inspection, no character different from those of the smaller masses which compose the mountain. After we had dug two or three fathoms in a straight line, the quartz disappeared. On meeting with the micaceous layers, we feared that we had lost the schorl, but after an attentive search we found it again, observing the same direction which it had in the quartz, and for the most part presenting even larger prismatic fasciculi. We remarked, at considerable intervals, some small blocks of quartz incased in the layers of mica, and containing also schorl in their substance, though not a trace of it was discernible on their surface, &c. In the course of a few fathoms the schorl vein completely vanished, and could not be retraced.

‘The continuation of this Journal, which has now reached us, will claim our attention in some future article. In the mean while, we shall be happy if we can be at all instrumental in giving its contents greater publicity, and in thus contributing, even indirectly, to excite a spirit of research into the subterraneous resources of our own country.

**ART. VII.** *The History of the Orkney Islands : In which is comprehended an Account of their present as well as their ancient State ; together with the Advantages they possess for several Branches of Industry, and the Means by which they may be improved. Illustrated with an accurate and extensive Map of the whole Islands, and with Plates of some of the most interesting Objects they contain.* By the Reverend George Barry, D. D. Minister of Shapinshay. 4to. pp. 509. Constable & Co. Edinburgh. Longman & Co. London. 1805.

WE consider this plain and unpretending volume as an accession of no inconsiderable value to the topography and statistics of the British Islands. It has been compiled with great diligence and labour, and contains a mass of curious information relative to a very interesting and neglected part of the empire. It is amazing, indeed, how little is known by their fellow-subjects of England, of those remote and disconnected fragments of our territory and population, and how much better acquainted we are, in general, with the Sandwich and Philippine islands, than with those of Shetland or Orkney. To most of our readers, therefore, the account contained in this volume should have all the recommendation of novelty, and should interest them much in the same way with the description of a newly discovered country. In spite of this attraction, however, we are afraid there is too much science and sobriety in Dr Barry's manner of writing, to let his work be very popular with the general reader. The naturalist and the antiquary will probably relish it better : and, at all events, as it is the first tolerable account that has yet been laid before the public of these interesting regions, we think no apology necessary for presenting our readers with a pretty full account of it.

The first book presents us with 'a view of the islands, considered as a whole, combined with a geographical description of each.'

'These islands are situated in the Northern Ocean, between Caithness and Shetland, from the former of which they are distant only about four, and from the latter nearly twenty leagues. The latitude of Kirkwall, the centre, is fifty-nine degrees and nine minutes north, and the longitude two degrees and thirty minutes west, from the meridian of Greenwich.' Viewed as a whole, these islands are high and precipitous towards the west, but slope, and sink into level plains, towards the east, especially those which are distinguished by the name of the North Isles. We think the fact may be accounted for by the position of the strata, which generally rise towards the west or

south-west, and dip, or are inclined, towards the east or north-east. The late Dr Walker, we believe, was the first who observed that islands and continents are generally high on the west, but form slopes or plains towards the east. This seems to prove a general conformity in the position of the mineral strata, though the cause of this conformity is unknown to us.

From the similarity of the points of Berey in Waas, and Dunnet in Caithness, and the general correspondence of the rocks and soils on the opposite sides of the Pentland Frith, our author concludes that the Orkneys were probably joined, at some remote period, to the Mainland of Scotland; and also, that the islands themselves had been formerly united into one unbroken continent.

We admit that there are very strong reasons for adopting this conclusion; but we see no reason to have recourse, with our author (p. 8.), to the action of subterraneous fire, to account for the dismemberment of the Orkney Islands. In several parts of Caithness, where the strata are intersected by veins of soft matter, the sea, by working them out, has made deep inlets into the land, and sometimes rushes, with terrible impetuosity, by subterraneous passages, from one side of a promontory to another. We are therefore inclined to think, that the Pentland Frith, and the sounds which separate the islands, were originally occupied by soft substances, which the force of the water has washed away. In proof of this we may observe, that all the remaining rocks on each side are extremely hard, and well calculated to resist its attacks. The Old Man of Hoy, a stupendous pyramidal rock, situated a few hundred yards to the west of that district of Waas, though not noticed by our author, forms an illustration of this doctrine. It is evidently composed of the same sandstone with the neighbouring rocks; and as these rise towards the west, this pyramid is seen from a great distance to overlook the neighbouring hills, and is among the highest pinnacles in Orkney. It has evidently been joined to the neighbouring rocks by softer strata, which the sea has gradually corroded and worn away.

The soil in Orkney, though shallow, is generally fertile, and our author is much at a loss (p. 10.) to account for this fact. We observed, that the most prevailing rock is a species of calcareous sandstone flag, of a blue, or bluish grey, colour. The soil formed by the decomposition of this stone contains a portion of carbonate of lime, which renders it fertile.

The climate, on the whole, is temperate, the range of the thermometer being from  $25^{\circ}$  to  $75^{\circ}$ , and that of the barometer within three inches. The medium temperature of springs is  $45^{\circ}$ . The most prevailing wind is the south-west; the most disagreeable and unhealthy

unhealthy the south-east. Snow is rare, and never lies long: the winter is more distinguished by heavy rains. For about two weeks, and sometimes more, about the middle of June, the wind almost invariably blows from the north, accompanied with snow and hail showers, of such violence as to check vegetation, and drive the domestic animals to seek shelter. The author, with much probability, (p. 13.) imputes this seemingly unnatural cold to the melting of the ice in the northern ocean, and consequent evaporation. About 40 years ago, the north wind brought what the people called *black snow*, which struck them with terror and astonishment, until it was discovered that the black snow was ashes thrown out by an eruption of Hecla in Iceland. Another peculiarity is, that thunder and lightning seldom occur, even during the warmest weather, in summer; but are frequent during tempestuous weather, with rain, hail and snow, in winter.

‘The greatest rapidity of the spring tides, even in those channels where they run quickest, is nine miles in an hour; and the neap-tides have only about a fourth part of that velocity.’ p. 15.

We do not pretend to call in question the accuracy of this calculation; but we have frequently seen vessels enter the Pentland Frith, with a strong breeze a-stern; and, upon meeting the tide, we have seen them stopped, and afterwards carried back, with all their sails set, by the violence of the current.

The second chapter contains a geographical description of the islands. They were first mentioned by Pomponius Mela; and ancient authors differ exceedingly with regard to their number and extent. The late Mr Mackenzie, from actual survey, ascertained their number to be no fewer than sixty-seven, of which only twenty-nine are inhabited. The remaining thirty-eight, called Holms, are of small size, and have always been appropriated to pasturage. Besides all these, there are several which are overflowed at high water, have scarcely any soil, and are called *Skerries*, which indicate sharp, ragged rocks.

Most of the names of these islands terminate in *o*, *ay*, or *ey*, which our author thinks, in the Gothic language, \* denoted an island of large extent; while holm implied one that was smaller, and only fit for pasturage. We rather think that *Holm* means hollow or flat land.

The islands have been immemorially divided into north and south isles, from their position in respect of the Mainland, or more probably of Kirkwall, which, for many ages, has been considered as their capital.

The sonorous name of *Pomona* affixed to the largest island, or Mainland, as it is called, has exercised the ingenuity of etymologists. Our author (p. 20.) thinks it is compounded of ‘two Icelandic

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\* Vid. Ihre, *Gloss. Suigoth.* I. 894.



Icelandic words, which signify Greatland; and this name is very applicable, if a comparison be made between it and the other islands.' From east to west this island extends not less than thirty English miles; but its figure and breadth are extremely irregular. From Scalpa bay to Kirkwall, it is intersected by a hollow valley, of not more than a mile from sea to sea, which divides the island into two peninsulas. Its breadth on the west side is nearly sixteen miles; on the east it does not exceed five or six.

Our author commences his survey of the islands with the united parishes of Kirkwall and St Ola, which are nearly in the centre, not only of the Mainland, but of the whole group. The town of Kirkwall is very ancient; and though built with no great regard to regularity, contains many commodious houses, and some tolerable public buildings. The ruins of the Earl's and Bishop's palaces are very superb; and the Cathedral of St Magnus, which survived the fury of the Reformation, and is still entire, exhibits many features of elegance joined to magnificence. The only circumstance which impairs the grandeur of this building is the meanness of its spire, which having been struck down by lightning, was patched up, without being carried to its original elevation. Kirkwall is a royal burgh, and in conjunction with Wick, Dornock, Tain, and Dingwall, chooses a representative in Parliament. It enjoys a commodious harbour, though it is out of the track of general trade. Our author reckons it to contain about two thousand inhabitants; but we are disposed to think he has considerably underrated their numbers.

The only other town of note in these islands is Stromness, situated towards the west of Pomona, and, as its name imports, on one of the sounds or streams which intersect these islands. It possesses a commodious and safe harbour, by which alone the town is accessible; as most of the houses, like those of Venice, have a quay for the accommodation of boats and vessels, while the streets are generally so narrow and irregular, as not to admit a wheeled carriage. In fact, this town has evidently been built by seafaring people, whose sole object has been to make it accessible from the water, without ever thinking that the approach by land was of any importance. Two holms divide this harbour or bay from that of Kerston, where ships of greater burden, which pass these seas, commonly cast anchor.

Our author, after describing all the parishes on the Mainland, passes over to Græmsay, Hoy, Waas; and having traversed the south isles, returns again to the eastern extremity of Pomona, from which he embarks in an excursion through the north isles, each of which he describes in the order of their contiguity, or as  
nearly

nearly in this order as their position will admit. We do not mean to accompany him in this laborious and dangerous circumnavigation.

The dwarfie stone of Hoy, a large sandstone, in which an apartment and a bed have been cut, our author supposes to have been the cell of a hermit, not, as commonly supposed, the residence of a giant and his wife. Indeed, the apartment is not sufficiently large to accommodate people above the ordinary stature.

Waas, or Waes, is the same with *Voes*, bays or harbours. In this parish, accordingly, there are several excellent harbours, and particularly the Longhope, which is of easy access from the Pentland Frith, and, for safety and conveniency, is not surpassed by any in Europe. Perhaps it might be advisable for Government to construct a small dock here for refitting vessels which navigate the north seas: Part of Little Waas, contiguous to the bay, is already the property of the Crown. Other commodious harbours occur in almost every island, some of which may rise into importance as fishing stations. We only notice this and Stromness, because they are chiefly resorted to by vessels which navigate these seas.

In Book II. we are presented with 'an account of the earliest inhabitants; with whatever is most remarkable in their manners, customs, and institutions; of the transactions and character of those people that conquered, and mingled with, or succeeded them; and a description of some remaining monuments of both these people; of the changes the islands underwent in subsequent ages under different sovereigns and different rulers; and the influence these seem evidently to have had in retarding their improvement.'

In this part of the work we meet with a good deal of controversial discussion, over which we shall pass as lightly as possible.

There is a long speculation about the etymology of the name. It is evidently of the same origin with the Cape *Orcas* of the ancient geographers, supposed to be Duncansbay-head in Caithness; and both are probably derived from the word *Ork*, or *Orca*, which signifies a whale. These huge animals are still seen in considerable numbers passing through the Pentland Frith.

Our author (p. 76.) conjectures, with much probability, that Orkney received its first inhabitants from the north of Scotland; that they had gone over at first for the purposes of hunting and fishing; and had gradually formed permanent settlements on the different islands.

But in order to people the north of Scotland itself, Dr Barry, following Mr Pinkerton, chuses to suppose that the Piks, or Picts, emigrating at a very remote period from the forests and lakes of Scandinavia,

Scandinavia, embarked all they had, and launched out into the ocean in quest of new settlements. Upon this occasion they are supposed to have passed by the Shetland and Orkney Islands, though directly in their way; and, landing in the Hebrides, from thence to have spread themselves over Scotland, and founded the kingdom of the Picts. We do not think this account extremely probable.

In the infancy of navigation, it is not very likely that men should embark upon the wide ocean in quest of lands they had never heard of; nor is there any evidence that, at that early period, the Scandinavians possessed skill sufficient to construct vessels capable of such a voyage, or that they could navigate them after they were constructed. Every thing that is recorded in authentic history discredits such a supposition.

Cæsar found the Belgæ in the south of Britain, as well as in part of Gaul, from the latter of which they had expelled the Celtæ. The Belgæ do not seem to have been of old standing in Britain; and it is probable those whom he calls *natos in insula ipsa*, were the Celtæ, or first settlers, whom the Belgæ had previously driven from the continent. It is natural to suppose that the Celtæ would first pass over from the opposite shores of the Channel, where the British coast was constantly in their view; the Belgæ next; and then other tribes from Germany and the North, as the knowledge of navigation was extended, by the voyages of the Phenicians and Carthaginians. When men live by hunting, it requires a great extent of land to support a few inhabitants. Hence they would spread rapidly over the country, swarm following swarm, until they found themselves confined by an opposite ocean; and then would feel the necessity of betaking themselves to pasturage and agriculture.

That the Celtic language was at one time spoken over all Scotland, is evident from the names of places in every district, derived from that dialect. But the question recurs, who were the Picts? and who were the Caledonians? The Roman writers uniformly distinguish the inhabitants of Britain by the appellation of *Picti Britanni*. Painting their bodies seems to have been a process every way similar to tattooing among savage nations at this day; and its object was to make them appear terrible in battle, or to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. But the Romans discouraged these practices among those who had submitted to their yoke; and hence a new distinction would arise into *Picti Britanni*, and *non Picti Britanni*. *Picti*, or Picts, seems then to have been a term of reproach, equivalent to savage, or barbarous, thrown out by the provincial Britons, against those who adhered to their ancient usages, and refused to submit to the Romans:

Hence

Hence Picti, or Picts, became the name of those tribes contiguous to the Roman provinces who continued to defy their power. The Caledonians are evidently the Gaël Dun, or the Gaël of the mountains. Thus the terms, Picts and Caledonians, only expressed a distinction known at this day, between Lowlanders and Highlanders. The term Scots, or Scuit, seems to have been a term of reproach thrown out by the provincial Britons, both against Picts and Caledonians, when they plundered the Roman provinces. It means *avanderers*, or rather robbers. Accordingly, we do not hear of the Scots until the decline of the Roman power, when the provincial Britons were exposed to their merciless incursions. That this name was confined to those tribes which lay contiguous to the province, appears from this, that in the interior Highlands, the people do not call themselves Scots, but Gaël Albinich, or Gauls of Albion. Hence the Scots could not have acquired their name in Ireland, and afterwards brought it with them to Argyleshire and the West Highlands; because the immediate descendants of those Irish emigrants, who still continue to speak the same language, never heard of any such name, and make no use of it to this day.

These facts lead us to infer, that the original Picts were tribes of the Gaël, or Celtæ, inhabiting the southern and eastern parts of Scotland; and that the Caledonians were tribes of the same race, inhabiting the mountainous regions. The term, Picts, was not known as a national name, until the Romans began to advance towards the north; nor that of Scots, until their power began to decline.

The progress of the Roman conquests seems first to have suggested the necessity of these tribes, formerly independent, uniting under a common chief, and paved the way for the establishment of two monarchies; one of the Picts, on the east of the island; the other of the Caledonians, afterwards Scots, on the west. From favourable situation, and the resort of strangers from more improved districts, the Picts would soon begin to understand and to practise agriculture; while the Caledonians of the mountains would depend chiefly on pasturage and hunting. Accordingly, the people of the interior Highlands know no more of the Picts than of the Scots of our antiquaries. The people whom we call Picts, they call *Drinnach*, labourers; thereby denoting their agricultural occupations. The modern Lowlanders they call *Sassanach*, Saxons; which shews they do not consider them to be of the same race with the ancient Picts, or Drinnach.

These circumstances lead us to conclude, that the Peti mentioned by Bishop Thomas (Appendix, No. I.) in conjunction with the Papæ, as the first inhabitants of Orkney, were a branch of the

the Gaël, or Celts, who had come thither from Caithness; and many circumstances concur to confirm us in this opinion. St Columba, who was an Irish Celt, and the apostle of the Highlands and Isles, is not stated to have used an interpreter when he addressed the Pictish kings, or when he preached the gospel to vast multitudes of their people.

But the identity of any early people is more certainly to be deduced from the names of places, and the monuments they have left, than from the records of future historians, which have seldom any other foundation than the vanity or caprice of the author.

By the Norwegian invasion 876, these Peti and Papæ were utterly extirpated. Bishop Thomas says, *radicitus—quod posteritas ipsarum nationum Peti et Papæ non remansit*; a circumstance which is not likely to have happened, had these Peti and Papæ spoken the same language, and been descended from the ancestors of their conquerors. Our author mentions that the conquerors would naturally proceed to impose new names, which might recall the objects of affection they had left in their own country, or were descriptive of the local situation of places.

These circumstances will account for so few names of Gaëlic original being found in the Orkneys. But, independent of the names of the islands, which we apprehend to be Celtic, the word Mull, undoubtedly Celtic, is still, in several cases, used instead of Ness, *nose*, to express a promontory or headland. We also apprehend the word Skerries, *sunken rocks*, to be Gaëlic; and those acquainted with that language may find several others derived from that source.

But, what seems to put the matter beyond a doubt, is this.—After the Norwegians acquired possession of the Orkneys, they imposed the name of *Pictland* Frith, on the sea which separated them from the northern kingdom of the Picts; and they called the nearest point of it *Caithness*, viz. the nose or promontory of the Catts or Catti. Now these Catti, or Clan Chatto, as they are sometimes called in Gaëlic, were undoubtedly a Celtic tribe which inhabited the northern counties of Scotland, and from whom several of our Highland chiefs and clans, such as the Macintoshes, Macphersons, &c. at this day claim their descent. After the Norwegians or Danes got possession of Caithness, they called the land beyond them *Suderland*, from which the county of Sutherland derives its modern name. But neither Caithness nor Sutherland are called by these names in Gaëlic to this day; the people of Sutherland call themselves *Catich*, and their country *Cattey*. The Gaëlic name of Caithness is *Goliu*; and, among the Gaël, the people are still known by no other name than *Golich*.

Golich. If, then, the first inhabitants of the Orkneys had come from the opposite shores of Caithness, which is extremely probable, they must have been a colony of the Catti, and hence of Celtic extraction.

Independent of the names of places, this opinion receives additional confirmation from the religious monuments still remaining in the Orkneys. We allude to the standing stones of Stennis, which, though much defaced, are clearly of druidical origin, and must have been erected by the Peti, or some other people who possessed these islands before the northern nations subdued them.

Detached obelisks may have been erected to commemorate a victory, or some remarkable event, but never to point out the grave of a great man. Such graves are marked out by four or more flat stones set on edge. Where numbers have fallen in battle, a heap of stones, or mound of earth, marks the place of their interment. But wherever, through the whole Highlands, we find a circle of tall stones, we may be assured that these were set up for religious purposes. Often there are only four tall stones, which are always exactly in the four cardinal points, viewed from the centre. Sometimes there is a smaller circle, which is a sort of *sanctum sanctorum*, in the centre, and circles within circles, extending to a considerable distance beyond. When there is only one circle of considerable diameter, four great stones generally mark the cardinal points with great exactness, and smaller ones mark the subdivisions, as far as there is room. When there is circle within circle, the interior circle marks the prominent points of direction, and the exterior ones the minutest subdivisions, with the greatest exactness.

These circles, besides being used as places of worship, and courts of justice, evidently served the purpose of rude astronomical observatories, by which the Druids could ascertain the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; the seasons of the year, and even the hours of the day; and, where they are tolerably entire, a slight degree of attention would enable any person to do so at this hour. The sun seems to have been the great object of veneration, as an emblem of the Deity; and the larger circles have a great stone placed on a heap in the centre, or more frequently on a tumulus at a little distance, but always due south from the centre of the interior circle, on which they seem to have offered sacrifice when the sun was in the meridian.

Fragments of these circles, and sometimes pretty entire ones, are still visible in all parts of the Highlands, from Arran to Caithness. Many have been demolished through mere wantonness; and the extension of agriculture has destroyed many more, especially

especially in the counties of Moray, Nairne, and Inverness, where they lately abounded.

Perhaps the most entire one that now remains, is on the banks of Loch Roag, in the island of Lewis. It consists of a *sanctum sanctorum*, or small circle of very large stones, in the centre, from which a long avenue runs due south and north, and a shorter one east and west. There are several concentric circles extending to a considerable distance from the inner one, and many tall stones are seen at various distances on the neighbouring hills; but chiefly towards the east. Opposite to the southern avenue, is a small hill, and on its declivity, a little below its summit, there is a stone of most enormous magnitude, which must have been placed there by design, as its northern side is seen to rest on small rounded blocks of stone, which prop it on the shelving rock of the hill. This enormous mass is due south from the *sanctum sanctorum*, or centre of the circles; and appears to have been the altar on which they offered sacrifice. This rude mass may have been raised from the rocky hill on which it rests; but no rocks in that quarter could furnish the standing stones.

The perfect similarity of these circles in the Orkneys, to those which are recognized elsewhere as undoubted vestiges of Druidical superstition, compel us to dissent from the opinion advanced by our author (p. 210) that neither the Druids nor the Celts ever had any footing in these islands. Though the learned word in Gaëlic for a church, be some such one as *heglish*, a corruption of *ecclesia*; yet its vulgar name is *clachan*, stones; and at this day, they express going to church by a phrase which implies *going to the stones*.

The only other ancient monuments of which we shall take notice, are the round buildings called Picts'-houses in Orkney and Caithness. These buildings are mostly reduced to heaps of rubbish in the counties now mentioned, and great numbers of them are also demolished in the Highlands and Hebrides; but in many places, such as Dornadilla in Strathnaver, in Lochalsh, Kintail, Glenelg; in Skye, Lewis, and several of the Hebrides, fragments, and often considerable portions of the walls remain.

Our author presents us with a ground plan and description of one found at Quarterness, near Kirkwall. But the only apartments remaining, seem to have been cellars where they stowed their victuals and most valuable effects, and where they might conceal themselves in cases of extremity. The place of habitation seems to have been above this, though now demolished. The reason why these cellars are so narrow, and so numerous, seems to have been their ignorance of the art of constructing  
arches,

arches, and the consequent necessity they were under of covering them, by making flat stones gradually project beyond each other, so as to form an angular roof. Had the cells been wide, it is evident they could not, in this way, have made the building to support the habitable floor above. Perhaps the most entire of these buildings that any where remains in Scotland, is that called *Dun Carlaway*, in the parish of Lochs, island of Lewis; of which we beg leave to subjoin a description.

It stands on a solid rock, projecting towards the south, and is of a conical form, like the furnace of a glass-house; only it widens more rapidly towards the base. Nearly one half of the building, on the north side, has been demolished, or has fallen down. The southern half, from the base to the summit, seemed to be about 50 feet in height, and most probably was originally higher, and contracted to a narrow aperture at top. A projection of stones, forming a circle on the inside, seems to prove that a wooden floor had rested upon them, nearly on a level with the ground on the north side; and there is sufficient depth of building to admit a story below this, though the space is now filled with loose stones. It is built of masses of flat granite, without cement, and consists of an exterior and interior wall, parallel to each other. Between these walls there are passages formed by large flat stones which connect the two walls, between which a man can easily walk. These passages run horizontally round the building to a certain extent, and then rise by a rude stair, or gently inclined plane, to other horizontal passages, and so on, until they conduct to the summit. The diameter within walls, at the projecting circle of stones on which the floor had rested, is twenty-five feet eight inches; the thickness of the wall at this point, nine feet one inch. There may be about eight or ten feet of building below this circle, where the wall becomes rapidly thicker; but the accumulation of rubbish prevented its measurement.

On viewing these buildings, every one must be struck with the care that has been employed in selecting and shaping each stone for the position it occupies; the accuracy with which the whole are joined together; the art by which they are made to cross and bind each other; and the skill which has prevented the slightest deviation from the curvature of the building, external or internal. Where the door is not concealed by rubbish, it commonly faces the east, is about two feet in breadth, and three in height, composed of massy stones. One, and sometimes two holes in the wall within, seem intended to receive massy wooden bolts. These buildings are only called Picts'-houses in Orkney and in Caithness;—over the greater part of the Highlands they are ascribed to the



Danes, and occasionally to witches, Fingalians, and other ideal beings. We gladly escape, however, from these speculations into the regions of authentic history.

The great Scandinavian kingdoms appear to have been formed, or at least consolidated, by certain violent usurpations of the Sovereign over the rights and privileges of his warlike and independent barons. A successful struggle of this sort, on the part of Harold Harfager, or the fair-haired, King of Norway, had induced some who were dissatisfied with the new order of things to seek an asylum in the Shetland and Orkney isles, from whence they harassed his trade by their piracies. The monarch, filled with indignation, immediately collected a fleet and powerful army, and landing first in Shetland, and afterwards in Orkney, he utterly extirpated the poor Peti and Papæ, who seem to have been guilty of no other crime than affording an hospitable reception to his discontented subjects. Nor did he stop here, but, elated with this first success, carried havock and devastation throughout the Hebrides. He then proceeded to the Isle of Man, of which he took possession without opposition, as the inhabitants, fearing perhaps the fate of the Peti and Papæ, had abandoned the island. This, with the irruptions of the Danes into England, seems to be the first authenticated naval expedition of these northern nations towards the south of Europe, A. D. 870; and all the accounts we have of Picts or others having previously passed from these countries into the eastern parts of Scotland, seem to rest on no better authority than conjecture.

Harold conferred the government of his new conquests upon Ronald Count of Merca, his confidential friend. But Ronald, wishing to return to his own country, resigned the whole into the hands of his brother Sigurd, whom he prevailed on the King to create an Earl, and to confirm in his new inheritance.

Einar, a natural son of Count Ronald, being made Earl, proved himself to be a man of consummate wisdom and vigour, though of an ungracious appearance. He is said first to have taught his people the use of turf or peat for fuel; a discovery, of infinite importance, as their woods, which never were abundant, seem to have been exhausted. For this benevolent action he was honoured with the name of Torfseld, or Torfeinar.

The authority of the Kings of Norway, and afterwards of Denmark, when the monarchies were united, over the Orkneys, seems to have been always very loose and undefined. The Earls acknowledged a sort of nominal submission to these princes; and competitors frequently appealed to their decision: but it does not appear, from any thing our author has stated, that they paid them any tribute, or even assisted them in their military enterprises, except in cases where they voluntarily joined them as equals and allies. In fact,  
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the earls acted as sovereign and independent princes over the territories they governed; and had it not been for the fatal measure of frequently dividing their territories among their sons, and the frequent disputes about the right of succession, which, like every other dispute in those days, was settled by the sword, men of such heroism and enterprise, as some of these earls appear to have been, might have established a very extensive dominion. They soon got possession of Caithness and Sutherland, of the Hebrides, and several tracts on the western shores of Scotland. When not occupied in contests among themselves about the right of succession, they amused themselves with predatory excursions to Ireland, to Scotland, and to England, and long continued to worship and to immolate human victims to Odin. The history of their conversion to Christianity forms one of the most edifying and characteristic narratives in the volume.

Olaus Frigueffon King of Norway, having, in his youth, acquired some knowledge of the Christian religion in England, was so much struck with its excellence, that he resolved to spread its principles through distant lands. We may presume he soon converted his subjects by word of command. But this was not enough. He wished to spread this salutary doctrine among his foreign allies and dependants; and, to accomplish this object, he took upon himself the character of a missionary, and fitted out a squadron of five or six ships, well stored with learned men, and with disciplined forces to support their arguments.

At this time Sigurd was Earl of Orkney, a prince who had rendered himself illustrious by his intrepid courage and heroic achievements. The worthy monarch having executed his mission in Ireland and other places, our author proceeds to state,

‘On his return, he brought his squadron to anchor in one of the harbours of South Ronaldsay, where the Earl then was, in readiness for some expedition. Sigurd was of an open and unsuspicious temper, which arose from confidence in the strength of his arms, and in the magnitude of his fame. He beheld, therefore, the approach of the Norwegian fleet without apprehension; nor did he hesitate to go on board as soon as he received the King’s invitation, as he dreaded no harm, and supposed, perhaps, that a conference only was wanted respecting some military enterprise, in which the interest of both of them might be equally concerned. The King’s conduct, however, soon convinced him of his mistake; for scarcely had they met together, when Olaus, assuming an air of dignity, opened his design in the following terms.’

Here the King makes a long and very gracious speech, reminding the Earl of his vassalage, and requiring him and his people instantly to adopt the Christian religion, and submit to the holy rite of baptism, under pain of destruction in this world, and

damnation in the next. The Earl starts some scruples about abandoning a religion which had been sanctioned by the wisdom of his ancestors; especially as no reasons had been offered to convince him that the religion he was required to adopt, was better than the one he was required to abandon.

'The King had neither time nor inclination to produce any other arguments than those he had used, on similar occasions, in his own country,—the arguments of intolerant zeal and despotic power. He therefore drew his sword; and, laying hold of the Earl's son, Hundius, whom his father had carried on board with him, declared, in the most determined manner, that he would instantly plunge it into the youth's bosom, if his father hesitated any longer; and at the same time added, that his fate should only be the forerunner of what all those should suffer, who refused to adopt the principles of this religion, which he himself professed. Convinced that an absolute refusal, or even any longer hesitation or delay, would have been the certain means of involving himself, his family and country, in one common ruin, Sigurd yielded to the imperious dictates of Olaus, whom he now acknowledged as his sovereign; publicly professed the Christian faith, and received baptism; and the people followed the example of their Earl with one accord. The King, exulting in the success of his pious enterprise, now returned home, carrying Hundius along with him as an hostage; and, on his departure, left some learned men to instruct the inhabitants in the nature of that religion which he had thus planted by the point of the sword.'

This Earl fell in the battle of Clontarf, in Ireland; and various prodigies are said to have happened at the instant of his death. The most remarkable is, that, in Caithness, twelve women were seen weaving a web in the inside of a hill, while they sang a dreadful song, descriptive of the fate of the Earl of Orkney. This shews that though the Earl and his subjects had received the ordinance of baptism, they had not forgotten their old religion. The song was translated into Latin by Torfæus, and is the groundwork of Mr Gray's celebrated Ode of the *Fatal Sisters*.

After their conversion to christianity, both the people and their rulers seem to have gradually put off their original ferocity, and to have cultivated with some success the arts and virtues of peace. Earl Magnus, who flourished early in the 12th century, was a prince of great accomplishments; and had the honour of being enrolled by the church of Rome in her holy calendar of saints.

Our author (p. 187.) following the Danish historians, represents Haco, King of Norway, as having been victorious over Alexander the Third of Scotland, at the famous battle of Largs. That this was not the case, however, is established not only by the

the testimony of our historians, but by the names of places, and the local traditions, which point out the most interesting scenes of the battle and pursuit. It is still better confirmed by the event; for Haco, returning to Kirkwall in Orkney, died there of a broken heart, 1263; the Hebudæ were conceded by treaty to the Scots; and the northern nations, who had harassed Scotland by their piracies, during several centuries, have never since, in a hostile manner, approached her shores.

A variety of circumstances had concurred, before the end of the fourteenth century, to break the power of this proud and turbulent principality. The chief of these was the practice of allowing all the children of the Earls an equal right of succession, in consequence of which their territories were either dismembered, or their unity was preserved at the price of civil wars or assassination. In consequence of a division among females, the Hebudæ had long become a separate sovereignty, holding nominally of the king of Norway. The kings of Scotland had contrived to strip the Earls of Ross and Sutherland, and even obliged them to hold Caithness as a fief from their crown. The rage for conquest and piratical expeditions to the south of Europe, was a fire which had burnt out in the North; so that their islands were no longer of the same importance as formerly, as a place for mustering and preparing their forces. Added to all these causes of diminished importance, the earldom itself had fallen, by intermarriage, to the Sinclairs of Roslin, a family which had come over with William the Conqueror, and which was attached, by still ampler possessions on the Mainland, to the interest of Scotland.

From these causes, and a wish to conciliate the friendship of the Scottish monarch, Christian of Oldenburgh, who united the crowns of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, conveyed the Shetland and Orkney Islands in pledge for part of his daughter's portion, who was married to James III. king of Scotland, 1468. Thus were these islands, which seem originally to have been connected with the northern kingdom of the Picts, reannexed to the Scottish crown. It does not appear that any more but the right of homage, or superiority, was conveyed by this transaction. But James having compensated Earl Sinclair by other lands, annexed the earldom of Orkney to the crown of Scotland, by act of Parliament, not to be given away, in time coming, to any but one of the King's lawful sons.

Notwithstanding this act, the Islands were frequently granted to several individuals, and as often revoked. Sometimes they were farmed, and sometimes mortgaged, until they were finally and irrevocably granted to the Earl of Morton, on payment of a

small feu-duty. He finding much difficulty in collecting his rents, sold his rights to the father of the present Lord Dundas, who now enjoys all the revenues which formerly belonged to the potent Earls of Orkney.

Book III. exhibits 'the present state of these Islands, their favourable situation and circumstances, and the advantages that might be derived from them.' Of this, the first chapter treats of their natural history, which is divided into three sections, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology.

On Mineralogy our author is very concise, as he follows Mr Jamieson, who, in describing these islands, observes more than his usual brevity. All we can gather from him is, that the North Isles consist 'of sandstone, sandstone flag, schistose clay, and limestone; in some instances of basalt; and, in some, of breccia.' The sandstone is in some places red, in others grey, or of a dirty white, and sometimes approaches the argillaceous, sometimes the silicious genus. Only two veins of lead have been discovered; one on the north-east, the other on the south-west side of the Island of Shapinshay. The South Isles, we are told, consist nearly of the same strata; but they have little or no basalt, and nearly as little limestone. We believe they contain no basalt whatever; but limestone abounds near Melfetter, and in the Island of Faray; and we doubt not it may be found in many other places, if the inhabitants would take the trouble of looking for it.

In Little Waas there are symptoms of hæmatites; and near the church of Hoy there is a large vein of this species of ironstone, of an excellent quality. In three different places of South Ronaldshay, attempts have been made to work lead, though without much success. Burray is thought to exhibit symptoms of coal, which have not been explored.

In the Mainland the strata are nearly similar to those described in the other islands. Indications of lead have been found on the south side of the island; and at Yasnaby, on the west, veins of barytes and calcareous spar are seen traversing the sandstone, having pyrites and galena interspersed. Lydian stone occurs in schistose clay, near the manse of Stromness, and galena in a rock intermediate between schistose and indurated clay. But this ore has nowhere been found in sufficient quantity. The stratified limestone of these islands is generally of a dark blue, or black colour, probably from bitumen, as it frequently contains pieces of coal, or jet, interspersed. Marble and alabaster occur in the parish of Birsay. Granite is only found at Stromness and its neighbourhood; also gneiss, micaceous schistus, and hornblende rock.

In the Botanical section, our author presents us with a numerous

ous list of the plants which grow in these islands, with the places of their habitation. There are only a few trees in Hoy, and a few in the gardens of Kirkwall; but that trees formerly grew here, is evident from those found in mosses. In order to raise trees, the author proposes a plan, we are afraid not very likely to succeed, for covering the nakedness of these islands.

In the Zoological section we are presented with an account of no less than 65 species of fish, which abound in the lakes and rivulets, or in the seas around. The quality is in general excellent; but their abundance seems hitherto to have operated rather as a bar than a stimulus to the industry of the people. They seldom think of turning them to profit, as an article of commerce. A few, for their own use, is all they think of taking; and, with an apparatus of the value of one penny, a man can, from the point of a rock, take as many in a few hours as will maintain his family a week. The only reptiles are frogs and toads, and the leeches used in surgery. No serpents or venomous creatures are known. We are next presented with a short description of upwards of a hundred sea and land birds, which are either perennial in these islands, or visit them at certain seasons of the year. This is followed by a list of quadrupeds. Here we remark, that the brown Norwegian rat, which has been introduced by shipping, has nearly extirpated the ancient, small-sized, black rat from these islands, as from other places. This rat is about 18 inches from the point of its tail to its snout, with size and strength of body in proportion. Having much more ability of doing mischief, it is much more formidable than the original black rat. Rabbits abound in all the sandy islands and downs; and considerable profits have lately been made from their skins. Hares formerly abounded; but the destruction of woods and bushes, by exposing them to the birds of prey, has long ago effected their extirpation. The same cause has effected the extirpation of roes and red-deer; the horns of the latter being found in great numbers in mosses and morasses, where woods at one time had grown.

The native breed of sheep seems to have been imported by the original conquerors of the islands. They are small, white-faced, and without horns. Parts of the fleece are very fine; and it is possible, that due attention may raise this into a very valuable breed. At present they do not form an article of commerce; and it is rather wonderful how they have been able to perpetuate their race, under the savage treatment which they generally receive.

In Chap. II. (p. 326.), our author proceeds to an investigation of the population of the islands, and of its comparative amount

in ancient and in modern times. He informs us, that P. Stewart, Earl of Orkney, directed a muster to be made of the people, about 1620, by which it appeared, that ten thousand fighting men might be raised on any emergency, without encroaching upon those who were necessary to carry on the agriculture and fisheries of the islands. Upon the supposition that every tenth person might be spared as a soldier, it is inferred that the whole population then amounted to one hundred thousand. The present population is only twenty-four thousand, and has been nearly stationary for the last sixty years. This extraordinary diminution has certainly been occasioned chiefly by the non-residence of the proprietors; the cessation of piracy, and the consequent diminution of vessels, either for trade or for fishing; and, perhaps, to the gradual deterioration of the soil, which no agricultural exertions have been employed to regenerate.

In Chap. III. our author proceeds to the consideration of Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, and Fisheries.

Our limits will not permit us to enter minutely into these important objects; nor is this necessary; because the general state of agriculture may be understood from the usual mode of ploughing. This is commonly done in Orkney by four horses yoked abreast. A driver walks backwards before, dragging them after him with a rope, and strikes them in the face to make them come forward.

The obstructions to improvement are numerous. A great part of the arable land is possessed in alternate ridges, and much of the pasture in common. There is no draining, and scarcely any fences or rotation of crops. The rents of the earldom are also paid in kind, which operates as a sort of bounty for the production of a certain proportion of inferior grain; and the weighing and measuring machines are defective and irregular beyond all example.

The crops usually cultivated are black or grey oats, bear or bigg, and occasionally peas, of which the white succeed best. Red oats have succeeded admirably where the land was in tolerable order. Barley and rye, and even wheat, are cultivated with considerable success; though the last has hitherto been managed in a very unskillful manner. The soil and climate, however, seem best adapted for green crops and sown grasses. In the garden, roots and pot-herbs attain to great perfection. Potatoes are cultivated to a considerable extent, and their management might be much improved. Turnips succeed admirably; and, from the mildness of the winter, remain upon the ground until late in spring, when they are as greedily devoured by the cattle

as in autumn. Flax was cultivated in ancient times, and its cultivation has lately revived with much success.

With respect to manures, we have already stated, that limestone abounds in various places, and peat well adapted for burning it. Shell-marl is found, in the greatest abundance, in many of the swamps and lakes; and though not mentioned by our author, shell-sand, not inferior to lime, occurs in various places. The people, however, are prejudiced against the use of this sand, because it is often blown by the wind, and destroys land by its excess. Though not mentioned either by our author, or Mr Jamieson, clay-marl, often of excellent quality, occurs in various places. This, or swampy earth, should be substituted in place of the surface turf, for making composts; and the most rigorous penalties imposed upon those who pare and demolish the surface of the waste land. Their putrescent manures are sea-weeds and the dung of cattle.

Our author (p. 367.) expresses a hope that the Crown will concur in adopting the proper arrangements for improving the agriculture of this country. Unfortunately, the Crown lands here, as in other places, are occupied in such a way, as not only to render their own improvement impracticable, but also to prevent the improvement of other lands with which they are intermixed, or to which they are contiguous. The occupants say they have no power to alter either their mode of occupancy, or of culture.

The only manufactures of any consequence here, are those of linen and kelp.

Our author (p. 370.) informs us, that in 1799, 'about fifty thousand yards of linen were stamped; and, besides the yarn that was bartered, no fewer than fifty thousand spindles were sold, and as much sent to the thread manufactory.'

The kelp manufacture employs more than three thousand people, during two months in summer. Three thousand tons is the average quantity manufactured, which varies in price from nine to ten pounds, and sometimes brings nearly 30,000*l.* Sterling in one season. This manufacture commenced about seventy years ago; and our author calculates that, during that period, it has brought into the islands about 595,000*l.* Sterling.

We doubt not but other valuable products, besides alkaline salt, may be extracted from sea-weeds. Some gentlemen have introduced Colonel Fullarton's mode of burning the plants in close kilns, which is a great improvement. We conceive it would be still better to have these kilns constructed on flat-bottomed boats, paved with bricks or flags to prevent fire, which might



might be moved round successively to the several creeks and bays where the weeds abound. This would convert kelp-burning into a distinct profession, to be followed all days of the year; instead of being carried on, as at present, by people removed from agriculture at the most important season of the year.

The principal exports from these islands are 'beef, pork, butter, tallow, hides, calf-skins, rabbit skins, salt, fish, oil, feathers, linen yarn, and coarse linen cloth, kelp, and, in years of fertility, corn, meal, and malt, in no small quantity. The imports are wood, iron, flax, coal, sugar, spirits, wines, snuff and tobacco, flour and biscuit, soap, leather, hardware, broad-cloth, and printed linens and cottons.' The value of exports exceeds that of imports in various proportions, from one to above five thousand pounds *per annum*.

The fisheries are in a very languishing state, though they seem calculated to prove a very great source of industry and wealth. About a hundred boats, with ten men in each, are employed in the lobster fishery. They are sold at 2d. each to vessels which convey them alive to London. A good fisher will gain ten pounds during the season. Herrings swarm here at particular periods, but few are caught. The cod and ling fishing are equally neglected; though the farmers in Waas, during their intervals of work, have been known to catch and cure more than forty thousand excellent cod-fish in one summer. From twenty five to thirty smacks resort to this fishing during winter, and carry them alive to the London market.

To improve the fisheries, our author thinks it should be made a separate profession, and the fishers collected into villages, in convenient situations; that decked vessels should be used in place of small open boats; and that a great magazine of all the materials used in fishing should be established in these islands. He also thinks this would prove a most convenient station for the whale and seal fishery, and for converting the blubber into oil. Already these islands furnish a considerable number of excellent hands to the Hudson's Bay Company, to the Greenland fishery, to the Merchant service, and the Royal navy. Our author thinks that were the land and the fisheries but tolerably improved, they might, on any emergency, furnish from seven to eight thousand brave and expert seamen to the Royal navy.

On the whole, we have perused this work with much interest and much approbation; and we think the reverend author entitled to much credit for the industry he has displayed in elucidating the state of a province, which, though remote and obscure, seems well calculated to promote the aggrandizement of the

the British navy, and the general prosperity of the empire. Though we have ventured to differ from him in a few speculative points, his practical conclusions meet our entire acquiescence. We cannot say much for the arrangement of the work, or the elegance of its composition; although the style is, upon the whole, perspicuous, and without affectation. The work is adorned by a good map of the islands, and views of the most interesting objects, which, so far as we were enabled to judge, are not only elegant, but correct.

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ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of Richard Cumberland: Written by himself. Containing an Account of his Life and Writings, interspersed with Anecdotes and Characters of several of the most distinguished Persons of his Time, with whom he had Intercourse or Connexion.*  
4to. pp. 533. London, 1806.

WE certainly have no wish for the death of Mr Cumberland; on the contrary, we hope he will live long enough to make a large supplement to these memoirs: but he has embarrassed us a little by publishing this volume in his lifetime. We are extremely unwilling to say any thing that may hurt the feelings of a man of distinguished talents, who is drawing to the end of his career, and imagines that he has hitherto been ill used by the world: but he has shewn, in this publication, such an appetite for praise, and such a jealousy of censure, that we are afraid we cannot do our duty conscientiously, without giving him offence. The truth is, that the book has rather disappointed us. We expected it to be extremely amusing; and it is not. There is too much of the first part of the title in it, and too little of the last. Of the life and writings of Richard Cumberland, we hear more than enough; but of the distinguished persons with whom he lived, we have many fewer characters and anecdotes than we could have wished. We are the more inclined to regret this, both because the general style of Mr Cumberland's compositions has convinced us, that no one could have exhibited characters and anecdotes in a more engaging manner, and because, from what he has put into this book, we actually see that he had excellent opportunities for collecting, and still better talents for relating them. The anecdotes and characters which we have, are given in a very pleasing and animated manner, and form the chief merit of the publication; but they do not occupy one tenth part of it; and the rest is filled with details that do not often interest, and observations that do not always amuse.

Authors,

Authors, we think, should not be encouraged to write their own lives. The genius of Rousseau, his enthusiasm, and the novelty of his plan, have rendered the *Confessions*, in some respects, the most interesting of books. But a writer, who is in full possession of his senses, who has lived in the world like the men and women who compose it, and whose vanity aims only at the praise of great talents and accomplishments, must not hope to write a book like the *Confessions*; and is scarcely to be trusted with the delineation of his own character, or the narrative of his own adventures. We have no objection, however, to let authors tell their own story, as an apology for telling that of all their acquaintances; and can easily forgive them for grouping and assorting their anecdotes of their contemporaries, according to the chronology and incidents of their own lives. This is but indulging the painter of a great gallery of worthies with a pannel for his own portrait; and though it will probably be the least like of the whole collection, it would be hard to grudge him this little gratification.

Life has often been compared to a journey; and the simile seems to hold better in nothing than in the identity of the rules by which those who write their travels, and those who write their lives, should be governed. When a man returns from visiting any celebrated region, we expect to hear much more of the things and persons he has seen, than of his own personal transactions; and are naturally disappointed if, after saying that he lived much with illustrious statesmen or heroes, he chooses rather to tell us of his own travelling equipage, or of his cookery and servants, than to give us any account of his character and conversation of those distinguished persons. In the same manner, when, at the close of a long life, spent in circles of literary and political celebrity, an author sits down to give the world an account of his retrospections, it is reasonable to stipulate that he shall talk less of himself than of his associates, and natural to complain, if he tells long stories of his schoolmasters and grandmothers, while he passes over some of the most illustrious of his companions with a bare mention of their names.

Mr Cumberland has offended a little in this way. He has also composed these memoirs, we think, in too diffuse, rambling, and careless a style. There is evidently no selection or method in his narrative; and unweighed remarks, and fatiguing apologies and protestations are tediously interwoven with it in the genuine style of good-natured but irrepressible loquacity. The whole composition, indeed, has not only too much the air of conversation; it has sometimes an unfortunate resemblance to the conversation of a  
professed

professed talker ; and we meet with many passages in which the author appears to work himself up to an artificial vivacity, and to give a certain air of smartness to his expression, by the introduction of cant phrases, odd metaphors, and a sort of practised and theatrical originality. The work, however, is well worth going over, and contains many more amusing passages than we can afford to extract on the present occasion.

Mr Cumberland was born in 1732 ; and he has a very natural pride in relating, that his paternal great grandfather was the learned and most exemplary Bishop Cumberland, author of the treatise *De Legibus Naturæ* ; and that his maternal grandfather was the celebrated Dr Richard Bentley. Of the last of these distinguished persons he has given, from the distinct recollection of his childhood, a much more amiable and engaging representation than has hitherto been made public. Instead of the haughty and morose critic and controversialist, we learn, with pleasure, that he was as remarkable for mildness and kind affections in private life, as for profound erudition and sagacity as an author. Mr Cumberland has collected a number of little anecdotes that seem to be quite conclusive upon this head ; but we rather insert the following general testimony.

‘ I had a sister somewhat older than myself. Had there been any of that sternness in my grandfather, which is so falsely imputed to him, it may well be supposed we should have been awed into silence in his presence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be further from the truth ; he was the unwearied patron and promoter of all our childish sports and follies ; at all times ready to detach himself from any topic of conversation to take an interest and bear his part in our amusements. The eager curiosity natural to our age, and the questions it gave birth to, so teasing to many parents, he, on the contrary, attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reason never to be evaded or abused ; strongly recommending, that to all such inquiries answer should be given according to the strictest truth, and information dealt to us in the clearest terms, as a sacred duty never to be departed from. I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of study, when he would put his book aside, ring his hand-bell for his servant, and be led to his shelves to take down a picture-book for my amusement. I do not say that his good-nature always gained its object, as the pictures which his books generally supplied me with were anatomical drawings of dissected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight ; but he had nothing better to produce ; and surely such an effort on his part, however unsuccessful, was no feature of a cynic : a cynic *should be made of sterner stuff*.

‘ Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a most outrageous noise in the room over his library, and disturbing him in his studies ; I had no apprehension of anger from him,  
and

and confidently answered that I could not help it, as I had been at battledore and shuttlecock with Master Gooch, the Bishop of Ely's son. "And I have been at this sport with his father," he replied; "but thine has been the more amusing game; so there's no harm done." p. 7, 8.

He also mentions, that when his adversary Collins had fallen into poverty in his latter days, Bentley, apprehending that he was in some measure responsible for his loss of reputation, contrived to administer to his necessities in a way not less creditable to his delicacy than to his liberality.

The youngest daughter of this illustrious scholar, the Phœbe of Byron's pastoral, and herself a woman of extraordinary accomplishments, was the mother of Mr Cumberland. His father, who appears also to have been a man of the most blameless and amiable dispositions, and to have united, in a very exemplary way, the characters of a clergyman and a gentleman, was Rector of Stanwick in Northampton at the birth of his son. He went to school first at Bury St Edmunds, and afterwards at Westminster. But the most valuable part of his early education was that for which he was indebted to the taste and intelligence of his mother. We insert with pleasure the following amiable paragraph.

'It was in these intervals from school that my mother began to form both my taste and my ear for poetry, by employing me every evening to read to her, of which art she was a very able mistress. Our readings were, with very few exceptions, confined to the chosen plays of Shakspeare, whom she both admired and understood in the true spirit and sense of the author. Under her instruction I became passionately fond of these our evening entertainments; in the mean time, she was attentive to model my recitation, and correct my manner with exact precision. Her comments and illustrations were such aids and instructions to a pupil in poetry, as few could have given. What I could not else have understood, she could aptly explain; and what I ought to admire and feel, nobody could more happily select and recommend. I well remember the care she took to mark out for my observation, the peculiar excellence of that unrivalled poet, in the consistency and preservation of his characters; and wherever instances occurred amongst the starts and sallies of his unfettered fancy, of the extravagant and false sublime, her discernment oftentimes prevented me from being so dazzled by the glitter of the period as to misapply my admiration, and betray my want of taste. With all her father's critical *acumen*, she could trace, and teach me to unravel, all the meanders of his metaphor, and point out where it illuminated, or where it only loaded and obscured the meaning. These were happy hours and interesting lectures to me, whilst my beloved father, ever placid and complacent, sat beside us, and took part in our amusement; his voice was never heard but in the tone of approbation; his countenance never marked but with the natural traces of his indelible and hereditary benevolence.' p. 39. 40.

The effect of these readings was, that the young author, at twelve years of age, produced a sort of drama, called 'Shakespeare in the Shades,' composed almost entirely of passages from that great writer, strung together and assorted with no despicable ingenuity. He has inserted rather a long extract from this juvenile compilation. There is next an animated and minute account of his studies at Westminster, with flattering characters of the head masters, from Nichols to Vincent. Throughout the work, indeed, he is too full of eulogies, and seems resolved to deserve every body's good word, by the most profuse and indulgent commendation. At this early period of his life, he first saw Garrick in the character of Lothario, and has left this animated account of the impression which the scene made upon his mind.

'I have the spectacle even now, as it were, before my eyes. Quin presented himself, upon the rising of the curtain, in a green velvet coat embroidered down the seams, an enormous full-bottomed periwig, rolled stockings, and high-heeled square-toed shoes: with very little variation of cadence, and in a deep full tone, accompanied by a sawing kind of action, which had more of the senate than of the stage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference, that seemed to disdain the plaudits that were bestowed upon him. Mrs Cibber, in a key high pitched, but sweet withal, sung, or rather recitatively, Rowe's harmonious strain, something in the manner of the Improvisatories: it was so extremely wanting in contrast, that, though it did not wound the ear, it wearied it: when she had once recited two or three speeches, I could anticipate the manner of every succeeding one. It was like a long old legendary ballad of innumerable stanzas, every one of which is sung to the same tune, eternally chiming in the ear without variation or relief. Mrs Pritchard was an actress of a different cast, had more nature, and of course more change of tone, and variety both of action and expression. In my opinion, the comparison was decidedly in her favour. But when, after long and eager expectation, I first beheld little Garrick, then young and light, and alive in every muscle and in every feature, come bounding on the stage, and pointing at the wittol Altamont and heavy-paced Horatio—heavens, what a transition!—it seemed as if a whole century had been steeped over in the transition of a single scene: old things were done away, and a new order at once brought forward, bright and luminous, and clearly destined to dispel the barbarisms and bigotry of a tasteless age, too long attached to the prejudices of custom, and superstitiously devoted to the illusions of imposing declamation. This heaven-born actor was then struggling to emancipate his audience from the slavery they were resigned to; and though at times he succeeded in throwing in some gleams of new-born light upon them, yet in general they seemed to *love darkness better than light*; and in the dialogue of altercation between Horatio and Lothario, bestowed far the greater *show of hands* upon the master of the old school than upon the founder of the new. I thank my stars, my feelings in those

those moments led me right ; they were those of nature, and therefore could not err.' p. 59. 60.

In his fourteenth year he was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he seems to have lived a very regular, studious, and innocent life ; and acquired great reputation by *keeping an act*, at the age of seventeen, against ' a finished mathematician, and black-bearded philosopher from the North country.' He took his bachelor's degree with equal honour ; and obtained a high place among the *wranglers* of his year. Upon this occasion he makes a considerable digression in praise of mathematical learning, and contends, with much zeal, that it is to the neglect of these studies that we should impute all the bad argument we hear in common conversation. We do not think this proposition made out by demonstrative evidence ; but it leads the author to make some lively observations, which we shall subjoin as a fair specimen of the general disquisitions which he has occasionally introduced into these memoirs.

' Hear the crude opinions that are let loose upon society in our table conversations ; mark the wild and wandering arguments that are launched at random, without ever hitting the mark they should be levelled at : what does all this noise and nonsense prove, but that the talker has indeed acquired the fluency of words, but never known the exercise of thought, or attended to the development of a single proposition ? Tell him that he ought to hear what may be said on the other side of the question—he agrees to it, and either begs leave to wind up with a few words more, which he winds and wire-draws without end ; or, having paused to hear, hears with impatience a very little, foreknows every thing you had further to say, cuts short your argument, and bolts in upon you with—an answer to that argument—? No ; with a continuation of his own gabble ; and, having stifled you with the torrent of his trash, places your contempt to the credit of his own capacity, and foolishly conceives he talks with reason, because he has not patience to attend to any reasoning but his own.

' There are also others, whose vivacity of imagination having never felt the trammels of a syllogism, is for ever flying off into digression and display—

*Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea formas ?—*

' To attempt at hedging in these cuckows, is but lost labour. These gentlemen are very entertaining, as long as novelties with no meaning can entertain you ; they have a great variety of opinions, which, if you oppose, they do not defend, and if you agree with, they desert. Their talk is like the wild notes of birds, amongst which you shall distinguish some of pleasant tone, but out of which you compose no tune or harmony of song. These men would have set down Archimedes for a fool, when he danced for joy at the solution of a proposition ; and mistaken Newton for a madman, when in the surplice, which he put on for chapel

over

over night, he was found the next morning, in the same place and posture, fixed in profound meditation on his theory of the prismatic colours. So great is their distaste for demonstration, they think no truth is worth the waiting for; the mountain must come to them, they are not by half so complaisant as Mahomet. They are not easily reconciled to truisms, but have no particular objection to impossibilities. For argument they have no ear; it does not touch them; it fetters fancy, and dulls the edge of repartee. If by chance they find themselves in an untenable position, and wit is not at hand to help them out of it, they will take up with a pun, and ride home upon a horse laugh: if they can't keep their ground, they won't wait to be attacked and driven out of it. Whilst a reasoning man will be picking his way out of a dilemma, they, who never reason at all, jump over it, and land themselves at once upon new ground, where they take an imposing attitude, and escape pursuit. Whatever these men do, whether they talk, or write, or act, it is without deliberation, without consistency, without plan. Having no expanse of mind, they can comprehend only in part; they will promise an epic poem, and produce an epigram: In short, they glitter, pass away, and are forgotten; their outset makes a show of mighty things; they stray out of their course into by-ways and obliquities; and, when out of sight of their contemporaries, are for ever lost to posterity.' p. 81-84.

This is certainly very brisk and lively, but it does not correspond at all with our notions of good writing. It is the style of a smart talker, spoiled by the habit of writing comedies; every thing is broken into points, and varnished into brilliancy; there is a constant exaggeration, which offends against candour and sober judgment; and an unremitting and visible effort, which is painful and oppressive to the imagination. His characters of individuals have something of the same faults; he seems always to study effect, much more than truth of delineation; and exaggerates the characteristic, till the natural can no longer be recognized. On the stage this is necessary, like rouge and false eyebrows; but it defeats the very end of delineating real characters, and begets a distrust, that stands equally in the way of our pleasure and our information.

Mr Cumberland, whose health had been injured by too close application to study, now passed some months at York, in a state of complete intellectual relaxation, if we may judge from the complexion of the stanzas with which he has filled three or four pages as a specimen of his occupations upon this excursion. He now began to turn his thoughts to the clerical profession, and to take measures for securing his election as a fellow of his college; but was tempted from the studies and pursuits to which he had always been inclined both by his own dispositions and the example of his respected ancestors, by an offer which was made on the part of Lord Halifax, then at the head of the Board of Trade;



to receive him into the situation of his private secretary. This change of his prospects and views in life, he has lived long enough, he assures us, to regret most bitterly. The account which he gives of his first impressions, on being thus thrust into the great society of London, is sufficiently striking and natural.

'The whole town indeed was before me; but it had not for me either friend or relation, to whom I could resort for comfort or for counsel. With a head filled with Greek and Latin, and a heart left behind me in my college, I was completely out of my element. I saw myself unlike the people about me, and was embarrassed in circles, which according to the manners of those days were not to be approached without a set of ceremonies and manœuvres, not very pleasant to perform, and, when awkwardly performed, not very edifying to behold. In these graces Lord Halifax was a model: his address was noble and impressive; he could never be mistaken for less than he was, whilst his official secretary, Pownall, who egregiously overacted his imitations of him, could as little be mistaken for more than he was. In the world which I now belonged to, I heard very little, except now and then a quotation from Lord Halifax, that in any degree interested me; there were talkers, however, who would take possession of a subject as a highwayman does of a purse, without knowing what it contained, or caring whom it belonged to: many of these gentlemen had doubtless found that ignorance had been no obstacle to their advancement, and now they seemed resolved it should be no bar to their assurance. I found there was a polite as well as a political glossary, which involved mysteries little less obscure than those which are couched under the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and I perceived that whosoever had the ready use and apt application of those pass-words, was by right looked up to as the best bred and best informed man in the company.' p. 102.

A little afterwards, he follows out the same train of thinking, in that peculiar and ambitious style which we have already ventured to disapprove of. After professing his own want of the faculty of noting times and seasons, and seizing lucky minutes with address and promptitude, he says,

'A man, who is gifted with these lucky talents, is armed with hands, as a ship with grappling irons, ready to catch hold of, and make himself fast to every thing he comes in contact with; and such a man, with all these properties of adhesion, has also the property, like the polypus, of a most miraculous and convenient indivisibility; cut off his hold, nay, cut him how you will, he is still a polypus, whole and entire. Men of this sort shall work their way out of their obscurity like cockroaches out of the hold of a ship, and crawl into notice, nay even into king's palaces, as the frogs did into Pharaoh's. These are the stray children, turned loose upon the world, whom fortune in her charity takes charge of, and for whose guidance in the by-ways and cross-roads of their pilgrimage she sets up fairy finger-posts, discoverable by them whose eyes

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are near the ground, but unperceived by such whose looks are raised above it.

But there are more than these. Vain men will have their flatterers, rich men their followers, and powerful men their dependants. A great man in office is like a great whale in the ocean; there will be a sword-fish and a thresher, a Junius and a John Wilkes, ever in his wake, and arming to attack him: These are the vexed spirits of the deep, who trouble the waters, turning them up from the very bottom, that they may emerge from their mud, and float upon the surface of the billows in foam of their own making.

But whilst these men may be said to fight their way into consequence, and so long as they can but live in notice, are content to live in trouble, there is a vast majority of easy, unambitious, courteous humble servants, whose unoffending vanity aspires no higher than like Samson's bees to make honey in the bowels of a lion, and fatten on the offal of a rich man's superfluities. They ask no more of fortune than to float like the horse-dung with the apples, and enjoy the credit of good company as they travel down the smooth and easy stream of life. For these there is a vast demand, and their talents are as various as the uses they are put to. Every great, rich, and consequential man, who has not the wisdom to hold his tongue, must enjoy his privilege of talking, and there must be dull fellows to listen to him: again, if, by talking about what he does not understand, he gets into embarrassments, there must be clever fellows to help him out of them; when he would be merry, there must be witty rogues to make him laugh; when he would be sorrowful, there must be sad rogues to sigh and groan and make long faces: as a great man must be never in the wrong, there must be hardy rascals who will swear he is always in the right; as he must never show fear, of course he must never see danger; and as his courage must at no time sink, there must be friends at all times ready to prevent its being tried.' p. 112—115.

He left London for a short time, to stand candidate for his fellowship, which he obtained with great honour, though not without considerable struggle and opposition: and on his return to town, ventured for the first time to the press with a church-yard elegy, in imitation of Gray. Soon after he projected an epic poem on the discovery of India, of which a considerable part was executed. He has inserted six or seven pages, as a specimen, in this work; but we hope the public is to see no more of it: it is cumbersome, prosaic, and utterly uninteresting.

Soon after this, Mr Cumberland's father exchanged his living of Stanwick for that of Fulham, in order that his son might have the benefit of his society, while obliged to reside in the vicinity of the metropolis. The celebrated Bubb Dodington resided at this time in the neighbouring parish of Hammersmith, and Mr Cumberland, who soon became a frequent guest at his table, has given a very entertaining account of his character.

and peculiarities. We shall insert as much as we can make room for.

Our splendid host was excelled by no man in doing the honours of his house and table ; to the ladies he had all the courtly and profound devotion of a Spaniard, with the ease and gaiety of a Frenchman towards the men. His mansion was magnificent, massy, and stretching out to a great extent of front, with an enormous portico of Doric columns, ascended by a stately flight of steps ; there were turrets and wings that went I know not whither, though now they are levelled with the ground, and gone to more ignoble uses : Vanbrugh, who constructed this superb edifice, seemed to have had the plan of Blenheim in his thoughts, and the interior was as proud and splendid as the exterior was bold and imposing. All this was exactly in unison with the taste of its magnificent owner, who had gilt and furnished the apartments with a profusion of finery, that kept no terms with simplicity, and not always with elegance or harmony of style. Whatever Mr Dodington's revenue then was, he had the happy art of managing it with that regularity and economy, that I believe he made more display at less cost, than any man in the kingdom but himself could have done. His town house in Pall-Mall, his villa at Hammersmith, and the mansion above described, were such establishments as few nobles in the nation were possessed of. In either of these he was not to be approached but through a suite of apartments, and rarely seated but under painted ceilings and gilt entablatures. In his villa you were conducted through two rows of antique marble statues, ranged in a gallery floored with the rarest marbles, and enriched with columns of granite and lapis lazuli ; his saloon was hung with the finest Gobelin tapestry, and he slept in a bed encanopied with peacock's feathers in the style of Mrs Montague. When he passed from Pall-Mall to La Trappe it was always in a coach, which I could suspect had been his ambassadorial equipage at Madrid, drawn by six fat unwieldy black horses, short docked, and of colossal dignity : neither was he less characteristic in apparel than in equipage ; he had a wardrobe loaded with rich and glaring suits, each in itself a load to the wearer, and of these I have no doubt but many were coeval with his embassy above mentioned, and every birth-day had added to the stock. In doing this he so contrived as never to put his old dresses out of countenance, by any variations in the fashion of the new ; in the mean time, his bulk and corpulency gave full display to a vast expanse and profusion of brocade and embroidery, and this, when set off with an enormous tye-periwig and deep-laced ruffles, gave the picture of an ancient courtier in his gala habit, or Quin in his stage dress ; nevertheless, it must be confessed this style, though out of date, was not out of character, but harmonized so well with the person of the wearer, that I remember when he made his first speech in the House of Peers as Lord Melcombe, all the flashes of his wit, all the studied phrases and well-turned periods of his rhetoric lost their effect simply because the orator had laid aside his magisterial tye, and

and put on a modern bag wig, which was as much out of costume upon the broad expanse of his shoulders, as a cue would have been upon the robes of the Lord Chief Justice.

‘ Having thus dilated more than perhaps I should have done upon this distinguished person’s passion for magnificence and display, when I proceed to inquire into those principles of good taste which should naturally have been the accompaniments and directors of that magnificence, I fear I must be compelled by truth to admit that in these he was deficient. Of pictures he seemed to take his estimate only by their cost; in fact, he was not possessed of any; but I recollect his saying to me one day in his great saloon at Eastbury, that if he had half a score pictures of a thousand pounds a piece, he would gladly decorate his walls with them, in place of which I am sorry to say he had stuck up immense patches of gilt leather, shaped into bugle horns, upon hangings of rich crimson velvet, and round his state bed he displayed a carpeting of gold and silver embroidery, which too glaringly betrayed its derivation from coat, waistcoat and breeches, by the testimony of pockets, button-holes and loops, with other equally incontrovertible witnesses, subpœna’d from the tailor’s shopboard. When he paid his court at St James’s to the present queen upon her nuptials, he approached to kiss her hand, decked in an embroidered suit of silk, with lilac waistcoat, and breeches, the latter of which in the act of kneeling down forgot their duty, and broke loose from their moorings in a very indecorous and uncourtly manner.’ p. 140–43.

‘ During my stay at Eastbury, we were visited by the late Mr Henry Fox and Mr Alderman Beckford: the solid good sense of the former, and the dashing loquacity of the latter, formed a striking contrast between the characters of these gentlemen. To Mr Fox our host paid all that courtly homage, which he so well knew how to time, and where to apply; to Beckford he did not observe the same attentions, but in the happiest flow of his raillery and wit combated this intrepid talker with admirable effect. It was an interlude truly comic and amusing. Beckford loud, voluble, self-sufficient and galled by hits, which he could not parry and probably did not expect, laid himself more and more open in the vehemence of his argument; Dodington, lolling in his chair in perfect apathy and self-command, dozing and even snoring at intervals in his lethargic way, broke out every now and then into such gleams and flashes of wit and irony, as by the contrast of his phlegm with the other’s impetuosity, made his humour irresistible, and set the table in a roar. He was here upon his very strongest ground.’ p. 144. 145.

‘ He wrote small poems with great pains, and elaborate letters with much terseness of style, and some quaintness of expression: I have seen him refer to a volume of his own verses in manuscript, but he was very shy, and I never had the perusal of it. I was rather better acquainted with his *diary*, which since his death has been published; and I well remember the temporary disgust he seemed to take, when upon his asking what

I would do with it, should he bequeath it to my discretion, I instantly replied, that I would destroy it. There was a third, which I more coveted a sight of than of either of the above, as it contained a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes, repartees, good sayings, and humorous incidents, of which he was part author and part compiler, and out of which he was in the habit of refreshing his memory, when he prepared himself to expect certain men of wit and pleasantry, either at his own house or elsewhere. Upon this practice, which he did not affect to conceal, he observed to me one day, that it was a compliment he paid to society, when he submitted to steal weapons out of his own armoury for their entertainment, and ingenuously added, that although his memory was not in general so correct as it had been, yet he trusted it would save him from the disgrace of repeating the same story to the same hearers, or foisting it into conversation in the wrong place, or out of time.' p. 147, 148.

Our author next commemorates his first dramatic production, which was finished in 1757. It was upon a most unfortunate subject, the Banishment of Cicero; and was accordingly rejected by Garrick, though recommended to him by the powerful interest of Lord Halifax. The author afterwards published it; but it has never come in our way; and we are quite satisfied with the speeches of Gabinius and Clodius, with which he has been pleased to embellish the pages before us. About this time he obtained the situation of Crown agent for Nova Scotia, and ventured to marry a lady of great worth and beauty, to whom he had long been attached.

Upon the death of the King, Lord Halifax was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr Cumberland proposed to follow him into that kingdom. He takes his last leave of his friend Mr Dodington, now raised to the honour of the peerage, in the following characteristic sentence.

'I had taken leave of Lord Melcombe the day preceding the coronation, and found him before a looking-glass in his new robes, practising attitudes, and debating within himself upon the most graceful mode of carrying his coronet in the procession. He was in high glee with his fresh and blooming honours, and I left him in the act of dictating a billet to Lady Hervey, apprising her that a *young lord* was coming to throw himself at her feet.' p. 159.

The celebrated Single-Speech Hamilton went as chief secretary with the Lord Lieutenant. His character is well drawn by Mr Cumberland in the following sentences.

'He spoke well, but not often, in the Irish House of Commons. He had a promptitude of thought, and a rapid flow of well-conceived matter, with many other requisites, that only seemed waiting for opportunities to establish his reputation as an orator. He had a striking countenance, a graceful carriage, great self-possession and personal courage:

rage : he was not easily put out of his way by any of those unaccommodating repugnances that men of weaker nerves, or more tender consciences, might have stumbled at, or been checked by : he could mask the passions that were natural to him, and assume those that did not belong to him : he was indefatigable, meditative, mysterious : his opinions were the result of long labour and much reflection, but he had the art of setting them forth as if they were the starts of ready genius and a quick perception : he had as much seeming steadiness as a partisan could stand in need of, and all the real flexibility that could suit his purpose, or advance his interest. He would fain have retained his connexion with Edmund Burke, and associated him to his politics, for he well knew the value of his talents ; but in that object he was soon disappointed : the genius of Burke was of too high a cast to endure debasement.' p. 169-70.

Mr Cumberland seems inclined to think him the author of *Junius*, and adds the following anecdote in support of that opinion.

' When I was called in jointly with Secretary Hamilton to take the project and rough copy of the Lord Lieutenant's speech into consideration, I could not help remarking the extraordinary efforts which that gentleman made to engraft his own very peculiar style upon the sketch before him : in this I sometimes agreed with him, but more commonly opposed him, till Lord Halifax, whose patience began to be exhausted, no longer submitted his copy to be dissected, but took it to himself with such alterations as he saw fit to adopt, and those but few. I must candidly acknowledge that at times when I have heard people searching for internal evidence in the style of *Junius* as to the author of those famous letters, I have called to recollection this circumstance, which I have now related, and occasionally said that the style of *Junius* bore a strong resemblance to what I had observed of the style of Secretary Hamilton : beyond this I never had the least grounds for conjecture.' p. 164.

In Dublin, Mr Cumberland was introduced to a new and a more miscellaneous society than he had hitherto been used to, and has presented his readers with striking sketches of Dr Pococke and Primate Stone. We are more amused, however, with the following picture of George Faulkner.

' Description must fall short in the attempt to convey any sketch of that eccentric being to those who have not read him in the notes of Jephson, or seen him in the mimicry of Foote, who, in his portraits of Faulkner, found the only sitter whom his extravagant pencil could not caricature ; for he had a solemn intrepidity of egotism, and a daring contempt of absurdity, that fairly outfaced imitation, and, like Garrick's Ode on Shakespear, which Johnson said " defied criticism, " so did George, in the original spirit of his own perfect buffoonery, defy caricature. He never deigned to join in the laugh he had raised, nor seemed to have a feeling of the ridicule he had provoked. At the same time that he was preeminently, and by preference, the butt and buffoon

of the company, he could find openings and opportunities for hits of retaliation, which were such left-handed thrusts as few could parry: nobody could foresee where they would fall; nobody, of course, was fore-armed: and as there was, in his calculation, but one supereminent character in the kingdom of Ireland, and he the printer of the Dublin Journal, rank was no shield against George's arrows, which flew where he listed, and fixed or missed as chance directed, he cared not about consequences. He gave good meat and excellent claret in abundance. I sat at his table once from dinner till two in the morning, whilst George swallowed immense potations with one solitary sodden strawberry at the bottom of the glass, which he said was recommended to him by his doctor for its cooling properties. He never lost his recollection or equilibrium the whole time, and was in excellent foolery. It was a singular coincidence, that there was a person in company who had received his reprieve at the gallows, and the very judge who had passed sentence of death upon him: but this did not in the least disturb the harmony of the society, nor embarrass any human creature present. ' p. 174-5.

In the end of the Lieutenancy of Lord Halifax, Mr Cumberland's father was promoted to the see of Clonfert in Ireland; and upon that noble Lord's nomination to the high office of Secretary of State, our author suffered the mortification of being superseded in his situation of secretary, and seems to have thought himself but indifferently compensated by the appointment of clerk to the Board of Trade. In this situation, he wrote an opera, and the comedy of 'The Brothers,' which was acted with considerable applause. There is some good dramatic criticism in this and in other parts of the book; but we are more edified by his characteristic anecdotes of Irish manners and characters, which he had an opportunity of collecting when upon a visit to his father in his residence of Clonfert. They are all a little overcharged, we suspect; but are very amusing. Our readers may take the following picture of a native Irish baron.

'On this visit to Mr Talbot, I was accompanied by Lord Eyre of Eyre Court, a near neighbour and friend of my father. This noble Lord, though pretty far advanced in years, was so correctly indigenous, as never to have been out of Ireland in his life, and not often so far from Eyre Court as in this tour to Mr Talbot's. Proprietor of a vast extent of soil, not very productive, and inhabiting a spacious mansion, not in the best repair, he lived according to the style of the country with more hospitality than elegance: whilst his table groaned with abundance, the order and good taste of its arrangement were little thought of: the slaughtered ox was hung up whole, and the hungry servitor supplied himself with his dole of flesh, sliced from off the carcase. His Lordship's day was so apportioned, as to give the afternoon by much the largest share of it; during which, from an early dinner, to the hour of rest, he never left his chair, nor did the claret ever quit the table.

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This did not produce inebriety, for it was sipping rather than drinking, that filled up the time; and this mechanical process of gradually moistening the human clay, was carried on with very little aid from conversation, for his Lordship's companions were not very communicative, and fortunately he was not very curious. He lived in an enviable independence as to reading, and of course he had no books. Not one of the windows of his castle was made to open, but luckily he had no liking for fresh air, and the consequence may be better conceived than described.' p. 206-7.

The following traits are from the opposite extreme in the scale of society.

'Amongst the labourers in my father's garden there were three brothers of the name of O'Rourke, regularly descended from the kings of Connaught, if they were exactly to be credited for the correctness of their genealogy. There was also an elder brother of these, Thomas O'Rourke, who filled the superior station of hind, or headman; it was his wife that burnt the bewitched turkies, whilst Tom burnt his wig for joy of my victory at the cock-match, and threw a proper parcel of oatmeal into the air, as a votive offering for my glorious success. One of the younger brothers was upon crutches in consequence of a contusion on his hip, which he literally acquired as follows—When my father came down to Clonfert from Dublin, it was announced to him that the bishop was arrived: the poor fellow was then in the act of lopping a tree in the garden; transported at the tidings, he exclaimed—"Is my lord come? Then I'll throw myself out of this same tree for joy—." He exactly fulfilled his word, and laid himself up for some months.

'When I accompanied my mother from Clonfert to Dublin, my father having gone before, we passed the night at Killbeggan, where Sir Thomas Cusfe (knighted in a frolic by Lord Townshend) kept the inn. A certain Mr Geoghegan was extremely drunk, noisy and brutally troublesome to Lady Cusfe the hostess: Thomas O'Rourke was with us, and being much scandalized with the behaviour of Geoghegan, took me aside, and in a whisper said—"Squire, will I quiet this same Mr Geoghegan?" When I replied, By all means, but how was it to be done?—Tom produced a knife of formidable length, and demanded—"Haven't I got this? And won't this do the job; and hasn't he wounded the woman of the inn with a chopping knife; and what is this but a knife; and wouldn't it be a good deed to put him to death like a mad dog? Therefore, Squire, do you see, if it will pleasure you and my lady there above stairs, who is ill enough, God he knows, I'll put this knife into that same Mr Geoghegan's ribs, and be off the next moment on the grey mare; and isn't she in the stable? Therefore, only say the word, and I'll do it." This was the true and exact proposal of Thomas O'Rourke, and as nearly as I can remember, I have stated it in his very words.' p. 212-13.

On his return from Ireland, Mr Cumberland brought out his excellent play of the *West Indian*, which was received with unbounded applause, and seems to have decided him in favour of  
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this species of composition. He also wrote a pamphlet, vindicating in the memory of his grandfather Dr Bentley from what appeared to him an illiberal attack of Bishop Lowth.

At this period of his story he introduces several sketches and characters of his literary friends; which are executed, for the most part, with great force and vivacity. Of Garrick he says—

‘ Nature had done so much for him, that he could not help being an actor; she gave him a frame of so manageable a proportion, and from its flexibility so perfectly under command, that by its aptitude and elasticity, he could draw it out to fit any sizes of character that tragedy could offer to him, and contract it to any scale of ridiculous diminution, that his Abel Druggier, Scrub or Fribble, could require of him to sink it to. His eye, in the mean time, was so penetrating, so speaking; his brow so moveable, and all his features so plactic, and so accommodating, that wherever his mind impelled them, they would go; and before his tongue could give the text, his countenance would express the spirit and the passion of the part he was encharged with.’ p. 245–6.

The following picture of Soame Jenyns is excellent.

‘ A disagreement about a name or a date will mar the best story that was ever put together. Sir Joshua Reynolds luckily could not hear an interrupter of this sort; Johnson would not hear, or if he heard him, would not heed him; Soame Jenyns heard him, heeded him, set him right, and took up his tale, where he had left it, without any diminution of its humour, adding only a few more twists to his snuff-box, a few more taps upon the lid of it, with a preparatory grunt or two, the invariable forerunners of the amenity that was at the heels of them. He was the man who bore his part in all societies with the most even temper and undisturbed hilarity of all the good companions whom I ever knew. He came into your house at the very moment you had put upon your card; he dressed himself to do your party honour in all the colours of the jay; his lace indeed had long since lost its lustre, but his coat had faithfully retained its cut since the days when gentlemen embroidered figured velvets with short sleeves, boot cuffs, and buckram skirts: as nature had cast him in the exact mould of an ill made pair of stiff flays, he followed her so close in the fashion of his coat, that it was doubted if he did not wear them: because he had a protuberant wen just under his poll, he wore a wig that did not cover above half his head. His eyes were protruded like the eyes of the lobster, who wears them at the end of his feelers, and yet there was room between one of these and his nose for another wen, that added nothing to his beauty; yet I heard this good man very innocently remark, when Gibbon published his history, that he wondered any body so ugly could write a book.

‘ Such was the exterior of a man, who was the charm of the circle, and gave a zest to every company he came into; his pleasantry was of a sort peculiar to himself; it harmonized with every thing; it was like the bread to our dinner; you did not perhaps make it the whole, or principal

principal part of your meal, but it was an admirable and wholesome auxiliary to your other viands. Soame Jenyns told you no long stories, engrossed not much of your attention, and was not angry with those that did; his thoughts were original, and were apt to have a very whimsical affinity to the paradox in them: he wrote verses upon dancing, and prose upon the origin of evil, yet he was a very indifferent metaphysician and a worse dancer: ill nature and personality, with the single exception of his lines upon Johnson, I never heard fall from his lips; those lines I have forgotten, though I believe I was the first person to whom he recited them; they were very bad, but he had been told that Johnson ridiculed his metaphysics, and some of us had just then been making extemporary epitaphs upon each other; though his wit was harmless, yet the general cast of it was ironical; there was a terseness in his repartees, that had a play of words as well as of thought; as, when speaking of the difference between laying out money upon land, or purchasing into the funds, he said, "One was principal without interest, and the other interest without principal." Certain it is he had a brevity of expression, that never hung upon the ear, and you felt the point in the very moment that he made the push.' p. 247—249.

Foote is frequently introduced. The following story we think very ludicrous.

'I remember well, when Garrick and I made him a visit, poor Foote had something worse than a dull man to struggle with, and matter of fact brought home to him in a way that, for a time, entirely overthrew his spirits, and most completely *frighted him from his propriety*. We had taken him by surprise, and of course were with him some hours before dinner, to make sure of our own if we had missed of his. He seemed overjoyed to see us, engaged us to stay, walked with us in his garden, and read to us some scenes roughly sketched for his *Maid of Bath*. His dinner was quite good enough, and his wine superlative: Sir Robert Fletcher, who had served in the East Indies, dropt in before dinner, and made the fourth of our party: When we had passed about two hours in perfect harmony and hilarity, Garrick called for his tea, and Sir Robert rose to depart: there was an unlucky screen in the room that hid the door, and behind which Sir Robert hid himself for some purpose, whether natural or artificial I know not; but Foote, supposing him gone, instantly began to play off his ridicule at the expence of his departed guest. I must confess it was (in the cant phrase) *a way that he had*, and just now a very unlucky way, for Sir Robert bolting from behind the screen, cried out—"I am not gone, Foote; spare me till I am out of hearing; and now, with your leave, I will stay till these gentlemen depart, and then you shall amuse me at their cost, as you have amused them at mine." p. 250—1.

Of Goldsmith he says,

'That he was fantastically and whimsically vain, all the world knows; but there was no settled and inherent malice in his heart. He was tenacious

cious to a ridiculous extreme of certain pretensions that did not, and by nature could not, belong to him, and at the same time inexcusably careless of the same which he had powers to command. His table-talk was, as Garrick aptly compared it, like that of a parrot, whilst he wrote like Apollo; he had gleams of eloquence, and at times a majesty of thought, but, in general, his tongue and his pen had two very different styles of talking. What foibles he had he took no pains to conceal; the good qualities of his heart were too frequently obscured by the carelessness of his conduct, and the frivolity of his manners. Sir Joshua Reynolds was very good to him, and would have drilled him into better trim and order for society, if he would have been amenable; for Reynolds was a perfect gentleman, had good sense, great propriety, with all the social attributes, and all the graces of hospitality, equal to any man.

‘ Distress drove Goldsmith upon undertakings neither congenial with his studies nor worthy of his talents. I remember him, when in his chamber in the Temple, he shewed me the beginning of his *Animated Nature*; it was with a sigh, such as genius draws, when hard necessity diverts it from its bent to drudge for bread, and talk of birds and beasts and creeping things, which Pidcock’s show-man would have done as well. Poor fellow, he hardly knew an ass from a mule, nor a turkey from a goose, but when he saw it on the table.’ p. 257-9.

In pursuing the same speculation, he introduces another still more celebrated character.

‘ Who will say that Johnson himself would have been such a champion in literature, such a front-rank soldier in the fields of fame, if he had not been pressed into the service, and driven on to glory with the bayonet of sharp necessity pointed at his back? If fortune had turned him into a field of clover, he would have laid down and rolled in it. The mere manual labour of writing would not have allowed his lassitude and love of ease to have taken the pen out of the inkhorn, unless the cravings of hunger had reminded him that he must fill the sheet before he saw the table-cloth. He might, indeed, have knocked down Osbourne for a blockhead, but he would not have knocked him down with a folio of his own writing. He would perhaps have been the dictator of a club, and wherever he sat down to conversation, there must have been that splash of strong bold thought about him, that we might still have had a collectanea after his death; but of prose I guess not much, of works of labour none, of fancy perhaps something more, especially of poetry, which, under favour, I conceive was not his tower of strength.’ p. 259.-60.

‘ Anecdotes of times past, scenes of his own life, and characters of humourists, enthusiasts, crack-brained projectors, and a variety of strange beings, that he had chanced upon, when detailed by him at length, and garnished with those episodic remarks, sometimes comic, sometimes grave, which he would throw in with infinite fertility of fancy, were a treat, which, though not always to be purchased by five and twenty cups of tea, I have often had the happiness to enjoy for less than half the

the number. He was easily led into topics ; it was not easy to turn him from them ; but who would wish it ? If a man wanted to shew himself off by getting up and riding upon him, he was sure to run restive and kick him off ; you might as safely have backed Bucephalus, before Alexander had lunged him. Neither did he always like to be over-fondled ; when a certain gentleman out-acted his part in this way, he is said to have demanded of him—‘ What provokes your risibility, Sir ? Have I said any thing that you understand ?—Then I ask pardon of the rest of the company—’ But this is Henderson’s anecdote of him, and I won’t swear he did not make it himself.’ p. 263—264.

‘ I have heard Dr Johnson relate with infinite humour the circumstance of his rescuing Goldsmith from a ridiculous dilemma, by the purchase-money of his Vicar of Wakefield, which he sold on his behalf to Doddsley, and, as I think, for the sum of ten pounds only. He had run up a debt with his landlady, for board and lodging, of some few pounds, and was at his wit’s-end how to wipe off the score, and keep a roof over his head, except by closing with a very staggering proposal on her part, and taking his creditor to wife, whose charms were very far from alluring, whilst her demands were extremely urgent. In this crisis of his fate he was found by Johnson, in the act of meditating on the melancholy alternative before him. He shewed Johnson his manuscript of the Vicar of Wakefield, but seemed to be without any plan, or even hope, of raising money upon the disposal of it : when Johnson cast his eye upon it, he discovered something that gave him hope, and immediately took it to Doddsley, who paid down the price above mentioned in ready money, and added an eventual condition upon its future sale. Johnson described the precautions he took in concealing the amount of the sum he had in hand, which he prudently administered to him by a guinea at a time. In the event he paid off the landlady’s score, and redeemed the person of his friend from her embraces.’—p. 273.

These are almost all the literary characters of whom Mr Cumberland has made any particular mention ; and though we are little more than half through the volume, we believe we are not very far from the conclusion of our extracts. The remainder of it is occupied, chiefly, with the personal transactions and family arrangements of the author, in which it is not reasonable to suppose that the public should take any great interest. His father was translated to the see of Kilmore, and died soon after. Our author himself wrote a variety of plays, and some odes and other poems, which had respectively their merited success, and was appointed Secretary to the Colonial Department, through the friendly interest of Lord George Germain, then at the head of that Board. He was ever afterwards the zealous friend and defender of his patron ; and spent much of his time in his society. The following anecdote struck us as curious and important.

‘ It happened to me to be present, and sitting next to Admiral Rodney at table, when the thought seemed first to occur to him of breaking the French line, by passing through it in the heat of the action. It was at Lord George Germain’s house at Stoneland, after dinner, when, having asked a number of questions about the manœuvring of columns, and the effect of charging with them on a line of infantry, he proceeded to arrange a parcel of cherry-stones, which he had collected from the table, and forming them as two fleets drawn up in line, and opposed to each other, he at once arrested our attention, which had not been very generally engaged by his preparatory inquiries, by declaring he was determined so to pierce the enemy’s line of battle, (arranging his manœuvre at the same time on the table) if ever it was his fortune to bring them into action ’ p. 298.

This statement, at first sight, appears to be inconsistent with the claim of our ingenious countryman Mr Clerk of Eldin to the brilliant and important discovery to which it alludes; and to say the truth, we cannot help entertaining some doubts of Mr Cumberland’s accuracy in the detail of a conversation which took place five and twenty years before he committed it to writing; but upon attending to the circumstances of the case, it does not appear to us that the anecdote, even if recorded with perfect correctness, affords the slightest ground for calling in question the originality or importance of Mr Clerk’s admitted discovery. Even if Admiral Rodney had really conceived this brilliant idea at the very moment commemorated by Mr Cumberland, it is apparent that Mr Clerk had been beforehand with him in the conception; and we should only have the extraordinary, though not unprecedented, case of the same discovery having been made successively by two separate individuals. The conversation recorded by Mr Cumberland appears to have taken place recently before the Admiral’s departure for the West Indies in January 1780; but Mr Clerk had brought his plan to maturity, and communicated the particulars of it to several persons, immediately after Keppel’s action off Ushant, nearly two years before, and while Admiral Rodney was resident abroad. But this is not all. Mr Clerk has himself stated in his preface, that having gone to London in the end of the year 1779, he had a meeting, by appointment, with Mr R. Atkinson, Admiral Rodney’s particular friend, and another with Sir Charles Douglas his Captain, at which he detailed, and fully explained to these gentlemen, every part of his system, for the express purpose of having it communicated to the Admiral before his departure with the fleet which he had been appointed to command. Mr Clerk adds, that he understood that such a communication was accordingly made, and that he has it from the best authority, that the Admiral expressed his zealous approbation of the scheme before he left London, and, after his return, made no scruple

scruple to acknowledge that it was Mr Clerk who had suggested the manœuvres by which he had obtained the victory of the 12th April 1782. These facts, we have no doubt, may still be established; and it is pleasing to observe, that they rather serve to explain, than to contradict, the particulars related by Mr Cumberland. It is not very likely that a scheme of such magnitude should suggest itself, for the first time, in the gaiety of a conversation at table; but if it had been recently communicated to the noble Admiral, it is abundantly natural that the accidental mention of breaking lines of infantry in land battles, should lead him to speak of it; and if he did not happen to mention with whom the suggestion had originated, it was equally natural for Mr Cumberland to suppose that it had that moment presented itself.

Soon after this, Mr Cumberland was induced to undertake a private mission to the Court of Spain, of which he has introduced a very long and languishing account; and for the trouble and expenses of which, he complains very vehemently that he has received no compensation on the part of the British Government. Our tribunal is not competent to the determination of such causes. Nor would any tribunal, we suppose, think it expedient to hazard an opinion upon the statement of one of the parties. There are some little pieces of good description interspersed in the dull diplomacy of the hundred quarto pages to which the Spanish biography is extended; and a curious account of a wonderful gypsey actress at Madrid, which we regret not being able to extract.

Upon his return, Mr Cumberland had soon to witness the demolition of the Board of Trade, in consequence of Mr Burke's Reform Bill; and was deprived of his secretaryship, on a compensation scarcely amounting to a moiety of what was taken away. Upon this diminished income he retired with his family to Tunbridge Wells, where he has continued ever since to reside, and to amuse himself by writing essays, comedies, novels, and these memoirs.

There is little in the subsequent part of the book that seems to require any detail. The author criticizes his own works with considerable candour and acuteness, and with little more than a natural partiality. He assures us, that the Israelites never made him any acknowledgment for the exertions he made in their favour; and this strain of ingratitude seems to have gone far to ruin them in his good opinion. He gives a long account of the retirement and death of Lord Sackville; and runs into a very silly and splenetic rhapsody on the fame of the Young Roscius, whose gains and popularity have evidently afflicted him more than was necessary. He praises the poetical labours of Sir James Bland Burges and Mr Hayley; and informs us, that Junius is savage;  
Sterne,

Sterne, frivolous and pathetic; and Edmund Burke, graceful in his anger, and musical even in his madness. The volume closes with a tribute to the filial piety of his youngest daughter.

We will pronounce no general judgment on the literary merits of Mr Cumberland; but our opinion of them certainly has not been raised by the perusal of these memoirs. There is no depth of thought, nor dignity of sentiment about him;—he is too frisky for an old man, and too gossiping for an historian. His style is too negligent even for the most familiar composition; and though he has proved himself, upon other occasions, to be a great master of good English, he has admitted a number of phrases into this work, which, we are inclined to think, would scarcely pass comment even in conversation. ‘I declare to truth’—‘with the greatest pleasure in life’—‘she would lead off in her best manner,’ &c. are expressions which we should not expect to hear in the society to which Mr Cumberland belongs;—‘laid,’ for lay, is still more insufferable from the antagonist of Lowth, and the descendant of Bentley;—‘querulential’ strikes our ear as exotic;—‘locate, location, and locality,’ for situation simply, seem also to be bad; and ‘intuition,’ for observation, sounds very pedantic, to say the least of it. Upon the whole, however, this volume is not the work of an ordinary writer; and we should probably have been more indulgent to its faults, if the excellence of some of the author’s former productions had not sent us to its perusal with expectations perhaps somewhat extravagant.

ART. IX. *European Commerce, shewing new and secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: detailing the Produce, Manufactures, and Commerce, of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany; as well as the Trade of the Rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems: With a General View of the Trade, Navigation, Produce and Manufactures, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and its unexplored and improveable and interior Wealth.* By J. Japson Oddy, Member of the Russia and Turkey or Levant Companies. 4to. pp. 622. London, 1805.

A BOOK containing such a mass of commercial information as is here presented to us, must be interesting at all times to a country like Great Britain; but, in the present state of our trade, it acquires a new and extraordinary value. The hostilities which have shut us out of the ports of the South, have added prodigiously to the importance of those which are still open in the North; and

as these are now the great inlets through which the tide of our commerce is poured over the continent of Europe, we listen with particular interest to all those details or observations by which we may be enabled to secure or to enlarge their advantages.

The author has taken great pains with this work ; and has laboured, by minute directions and innumerable tables, to make it practically useful. He certainly has not failed altogether in this aim ; but it is necessary, we think, to premise, that his attainments appear to us to be by no means of a high order, and that his judgments seem frequently to be perverted by the doctrines of an exploded system of political economy. The general view which we propose to give of the plan and contents of the book, will enable our readers, however, to judge for themselves of its pretensions.

The work is divided into seven books, of which the first is appropriated to *Russia*. The progress which this great country is destined to make among the nations, cannot fail to interest the philosophical observer ; and there is something extremely grand in the prospective view of her commercial and political advancement. If Russia only attains one third of the population that is commonly possessed by countries at all favourably situated, she will still reckon a hundred and twenty-five millions of inhabitants ; and there is reason to think that this multiplication is going on with considerable rapidity. Mr Tooke estimates the whole population of the empire at thirty-six millions ; but Mr Oddy thinks it may now be carried, without fear of exaggeration, to forty millions. The growing prosperity of this empire is materially assisted by the systematic efforts of the Government to facilitate commercial intercourse between all its parts. Canals are made, from time to time, to connect the numerous rivers which fall into the seas upon its extremities. Thus the Beresinsky and Oginsky canals open an easy communication between the ports of the Baltic and those of the Euxine ; and the canal of Vishney Volotoshok connects the Gulf of Finland with the distant harbours of the Caspian. Some idea of the increasing industry of Russia may be formed, by comparing the number of vessels of all kinds that passed through this famous canal, which joins the Neva and Wolga, in the years 1787 and 1797. In the former, the number was 2914 barks, 357 half barks, 178 boats, and 1984 floats, paying 24,689 rubles of toll or duty ; in the latter, 3958 barks, 382 half barks, 248 boats, and 1676 floats, paying 34,192 rubles.

The articles for exportation consist chiefly of iron, wood, hemp and flax, both raw and manufactured, tallow and grain. The exportation of wood was some years ago prohibited, on account of the great waste in the forests ; but it has again been permitted,



under certain restrictions. By adopting proper regulations for the management of the forests, Mr Oddy thinks this article might be rendered one of the most productive and permanent staples of Russian commerce. Hemp and flax, and their products, constitute, at present, the most important part of the annual exports. The value of these exported in 1802, amounted to 21,176,432 rubles. From the tables produced by Mr Oddy, it appears that agriculture is rapidly advancing; for, in 1793, the value of grain exported was only 3,121,597 rubles; whereas, in 1802, it had increased to 11,496,245.

Mr Oddy gives a very full account of the different seaports in Russia, accompanied with tables to illustrate the history and actual state of their trade. Archangel, as is well known, was the chief place of trade, till Peter the Great created a new city, which produced a complete revolution in the commerce of the North. Three parts of the whole trade of the empire is now carried on in the Baltic. St Petersburg, or Cronstadt and Riga, are the principal ports in this sea; but there are several others which share the benefits of that commercial spirit so assiduously encouraged by the Government. In the Black Sea, Odessa has, by unremitted exertions on the part of the Government, become a place of considerable importance, and bids fair to rival, in time, the most flourishing marts of the Baltic. Our author, indeed, is inclined to think, that the trade of the Baltic is destined to undergo, at no distant period, a revolution similar to that which took place in the trade of the White Sea after the building of Petersburg. At present, however, the foreign trade of Russia in this sea is nearly confined to the provinces of the Turkish empire, from which considerable importations are annually made.

It is impossible to examine the author's tables and statements of the foreign trade of Russia, without being struck with the immense advantages which she derives from her intercourse with Britain. Her sales to this country, it appears, are nearly equal to all her other sales put together. Notwithstanding all this, there is, according to Mr Oddy, a strong jealousy entertained by that power, of our naval superiority, and a manifest desire on her part to underrate the value of the connexion. If this be really true, which we much doubt, at least in the extent stated by Mr Oddy, it must follow, that the Government is much in the dark regarding the true interests of the country; for it cannot be doubted that her commerce is nourished and upheld by the preponderance of the British navy. What else is it that brings the peculiar articles of Russian produce into demand? What would become of the trade in these articles, and of the industry that ministers to it, were the maritime power of Britain reduced to a level with that of  
other

other states? The inference is obvious and irresistible. We are, however, inclined to think that our author's remarks upon this subject refer more to the spirit which animated the latter part of the wayward administration of Paul, than to the present times. Both countries, we hope, have, since that period, attained such notions of the points then in dispute, as will in future secure their adherence to more pacific and accommodating maxims.

The productions, manufactures, and commerce of *Prussia* are treated of in the Second Book. The possessions of this power extend nearly four hundred miles along the southern coasts of the Baltic, embracing several fine rivers and convenient harbours. It is partly through these that our manufactures and colonial productions are now conveyed to the interior of the continent. The rivers communicating with Königsberg, open a safe inland navigation, even to the Black Sea. Through this channel the British Turkey trade may be safely carried on, and at a cheaper rate, than by the Mediterranean. Riga, however, in the dominions of Russia, possesses, as the author has shewn, greater facilities for this branch of trade; for the goods shipped there get much sooner into the current of the Dnieper, which conveys them straight to Odessa. Stettin upon the Oder affords another wide channel for our commerce with the continent. This fine river runs through a great part of the North of Germany, and there are several canals which connect it with the Elbe and other rivers. So long, therefore, as the trade by the Elbe and the Weser is interrupted, our author considers Stettin as one of the most convenient and extensive inlets for British merchandize.

Dantzic is the chief grain market of the North. A late traveller \* estimates the amount of all the grain exported from this place, in the year 1803, at 34,149 lasts, each containing eighty-four Winchester bushels. But in Mr Oddy's tables for the same year, we find the amount stated at 68,278 lasts, each rated at eighty-six bushels. This wide variation (though we have no doubt of Mr Oddy's superior accuracy) serves to shew with what caution such statements ought always to be received. The following extract exhibits a curious contrast between the negligence that prevails in bringing the grain to Dantzic, and the anxious precautions with which it is guarded when warehoused there.

‘ All kind of grain conveyed to Dantzic, but particularly that from a great distance, is brought down in vessels, or rather floats, clumsily put together, of different dimensions and descriptions, according to the rivers or places they are first sent out from; and, what will appear very extraordinary, without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven. In this

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state,

\* Mr Carr--Northern Summer.

state, uncovered, or any ways protected, it is brought from the most remote parts, exposed to all sorts of weather, sometimes six, seven, eight, nine, or even ten weeks on its passage. If the season happens to be wet, the grain is piled in the vessel or float, with a ridge to shoot off the wet, which, continuing some time, the surface becomes one coat of vegetative matter, like a green grass-plat, floating down the current, and which partly prevents the rain penetrating farther than a few inches. The waste and loss, however, must be incredible in wet seasons, and even otherwise; for the feathered tribe, as the float proceeds along, are their constant customers, even into the very city of Dantzic. Strange as this may appear, but which the author has been repeatedly an eyewitness to, these people have never yet been prevailed upon to have tarpaulings, or any covering, which would, in a wet season, doubly repay them for the first cost. —

‘The warehouses here are upon an excellent plan, situated upon an island formed by the river Mottlau, running close by the city on one side, and another branch by what is called the Forestadt on the other. There are three bridges on each side of the island, at the end of streets over it from the city to the Forestadt. In the night all the bridges are drawn up, excepting the two at the end of the main street, across the centre of the island, communicating betwixt the old city and the Forestadt. To guard those warehouses are from twenty to thirty ferocious dogs of a large size, amongst which are blood-hounds, let loose at eleven o'clock in the night. To command, and to keep the dogs within their districts, as well as the passengers from harm, at the end of each of the streets leading to the main one are large high gates run across: no light is allowed, nor any person suffered to live on this island. The dogs prowl about the whole night, and create great terror.’

Prussia, by the extensive range of coast she has acquired, has certainly secured the means of obtaining a large share of the Baltic trade. But though possessed of these natural facilities, she does not yet seem to have learned the rudiments of that science on which commercial prosperity depends. The narrow notions of Frederic, whose genius, splendid as it was in negotiation and war, never embraced any of the great principles of commercial policy, are still cherished with undiminished attachment by the cabinet of Berlin. Our author, however, speaks much of the great encouragement afforded to industry. And if monopolies and prohibitions are wise expedients for promoting industry, it must be allowed this government is by no means idle. But Prussia must govern herself by other maxims, or be contented with a very subordinate place in the scale of manufacturing and commercial nations.

The third book treats of the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, which, on account of its high cultivation, and the quantity of grain it exports, Mr Oddy denominates the Egypt of the North. The imperial

imperial city of Lubec is situated in this dutchy; and as it has an easy communication with the North Sea, by means of the Holstein canal, and with the Elbe by that of Stecknitz, it is, in the present state of affairs, a place of great commercial importance.

In the fourth book, the author goes on to *Sweden*, a country, he says, of but slow progress in the career of improvement. One great cause of her backward state is the unfavourableness of the climate for the growth of grain. This is so great, that Mr Oddy asserts there are scarcely three ripe crops in the space of ten years. She has, however, considerable resources in wood and iron, and in the fisheries. The Swedish iron is well known to be of excellent quality; there are at present about five hundred founderies in employment, and the annual produce is estimated at about 53,330 English tons. Britain, every where the great encourager of industry, takes more than half of the whole quantity exported.

It has long been a favourite project with the Swedish monarchs, to open a passage through that country between the North Sea and the Baltic. This plan, worthy of Rome in the plenitude of her power, was originally conceived by Gustavus Vasa. Considerable progress has been made towards its accomplishment; and though there are still great obstacles in the way, Mr Oddy is inclined to think they are far from insurmountable. We recollect that Mr Phillips, a very competent judge, expresses the same opinion with confidence in his *History of Inland Navigation*. The completion of this grand undertaking would contribute much to the internal improvement of Sweden, and, through her, afford the other nations of Europe a passage into the Baltic, independent of the Sound and the Belts.

From Sweden the author proceeds to the dominions of *Denmark*; and though he is singularly confused in this as in some other parts of his work, there is yet much useful information communicated. The details regarding Hufum and Tonningen will be found particularly interesting. This latter port, scarcely known beyond the dominions of his Danish Majesty, till the malignant and absurd policy of Bonaparte had driven commerce from its natural channels, is now become the focus of commercial intercourse between England and the Continent. It maintains a great trade with different places on the Elbe, and particularly with Hamburgh, having, in fact, become the port of that city since its blockade. Denmark has, in several respects, been a gainer by the wars in which the other nations of Europe are or have been lately engaged. In times of peace she is computed to gain nearly four millions of rix-dollars by the carrying trade; but the war has given her an almost

most exclusive possession of that branch of industry, besides enabling her to prosecute the fishing trade without competition. From Mr Oddy's tables it appears, that, exclusive of the home consumption, and the transport by land from Norway to Sweden, there was exported in 1802 no less than 411 cargoes, containing about 26,500 tons of fish. The exportation had increased from 256 cargoes to this amount between the years 1799 and 1802.

Mr Oddy maintains, that the progress of Denmark has not nearly kept pace with the advantages of her situation. Her people, he alleges, are slow to invent and as slow to imitate, and have not yet acquired that true commercial spirit which generates universal activity and emulation, and carries nations forward by rapid movements in the career of wealth and power. He concludes the account of Denmark with a general view of the commerce of the Baltic, from which we learn, that the share of Great Britain in that trade amounts (leaving grain out of the calculation) to at least two thirds of the whole. This affords a striking view of the interest all these nations have in the permanent prosperity of this country. As the articles sold consist entirely of native productions, the trade is certainly more advantageous to them than to us; but, at the same time, we cannot conclude as Mr Oddy does, in the true spirit of the mercantile system, that all the gains are on their side, and that we have only loss.

The author gives to the sixth book a title to which it assuredly has no claim; for instead of an account of 'the Commerce of Germany in general,' as it promises, we have only an account of that carried on by three of its rivers, the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. Upon these rivers, indeed, he is quite at home, and abundantly communicative; and his account of their trade, such as it lately was, and of the commercial vicissitudes of Hamburgh since the French revolution, is very interesting. The Ems being under the protection of Prussia is still open; and short as its course is, the British goods which come into it find their way through every intervening obstacle, even to Italy. It is curious to learn that, by this channel, some of the indigo which we export, goes even to France to dye cloth for the armies of the great enemy of British industry. So indispensable is our commerce.

The seventh and last book is of a very desultory nature; but its principal object seems to be, to point out the means by which Britain may obtain naval stores and other necessities without going to the Baltic. This is a favourite speculation with Mr Oddy. He is persuaded the Northern powers do not hold us in due estimation; that they look upon us as their dependants, and flatter themselves that, by withholding the supply of naval stores, they could at any time crush our power. He maintains also, that they demand

demand extravagant prices from us, upon the supposition that our dependence upon them obliges us to pay whatever they demand. Thinking in this manner, he often expresses great surprise that Britain does not take immediate measures to secure herself against the precarious and selfish friendships of the Scandinavian nations. The following passage, which we select because it is short, will serve to show how he feels and reasons upon this matter.

‘ It is matter of no small astonishment that Great Britain, so celebrated for her political wisdom and commercial prudence, which has raised her to power and consequence in the world, chiefly by her maritime strength, should grossly have neglected cultivating within herself a great part of her naval stores, the very soul and sinews of her greatness and preservation, particularly after the many salutary admonitions at an early period,\* and the attempt at monopoly by foreign powers, the armed neutrality in 1780, and the confederacy of the North in 1800. Great Britain makes herself dependent, as it were, upon these nations for the very articles on which her existence depends, and neglects those domestic resources which she might so advantageously carry into effect, not only to a national, but individual benefit.’ p. 489.

With a view to such an improvement of our national resources, he treats, first, of the fisheries; and maintains, that no scheme for their extension will be effectual that does not enable poor people to enter into that trade. Bounties, he says, are of no use; for they do not enable any one, who has not the means otherwise, to undertake fishing. He proposes, therefore, that boats and tackle should be provided at the fishing stations, and hired out for a sum just sufficient to pay interest, tear and wear, under the direction of the ministers and elders in the Scotch parishes, and by the superintendants of the poor in England.

He next recommends, in terms of extreme urgency, the cultivation of timber at home, and even proposes compulsory measures for that purpose. This is his great resource, indeed, upon all occasions; for Mr Oddy is one of those who think that governments ought to interfere in every thing. Meantime, he is of opinion, the timber trade might be advantageously transferred to our North American plantations. The forests there contain abundance of excellent timber, which he says can be brought to this country a great deal cheaper than from the Baltic, with the additional national benefit of employing double the number of seamen, and double the tonnage of shipping. Some details are given upon the subject, which must be extremely valuable to such as may engage

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\* ‘ The Swedes, in 1703, refused to let England have pitch and tar, unless received in their own ships, at their own price.’

in this trade. We were surprised, however, to find the author distinctly admitting, that the price of wood in the countries round the Baltic is regulated by the common principles, after having so often complained of the arbitrary monopoly demands of the northern merchants. Some of his reasonings on this point remind us of the declamations of certain French writers against our grievous monopoly of colonial productions.

Great advantages would, in Mr Oddy's opinion, accrue to the empire at large, but particularly to Ireland, from a more extended cultivation of hemp and flax. From personal observation, he asserts that the peasantry of Ireland are in a worse situation than the peasantry of any country in Europe; and this, in the midst of greater resources than most of them enjoy. He thinks that, by affording every possible encouragement to this species of culture, for which the soil and climate are peculiarly adapted, the condition of this misguided people might be materially improved. With regard to the bounty, Mr Oddy contends that it would be more effective if paid, not when the flax or hemp is brought to a marketable state, but when the ground is sown; for in this way the cultivator would be remunerated, although his crop should not succeed.

Mr Oddy contends zealously for the cultivation of the waste lands in this island. The vast importations we are obliged to make, while we neglect so many millions of acres susceptible of cultivation, is, he thinks, a circumstance altogether unaccountable. It is much easier, however, to unfold the causes of this evil, than to indicate a remedy; but this is a discussion into which we cannot at present enter. Our author entertains very sound notions with regard to the corn bounties; and, though not qualified for the subtleties of political analysis, succeeds in proving that they are altogether nugatory and impolitic. A conviction of the inutility of these paltry expedients, may, in time, lead to measures of greater efficacy in this important branch of economical administration. Meantime, we think Mr Oddy's proposal of making this country an *entrepôt* for grain, merits the attention of those whose duty it is to strengthen the empire by such seasonable and politic expedients as are suggested by the circumstances of the times. The following extract will make our readers acquainted with the author's ideas upon this subject.

' Nature, or rather Providence, has formed this island an impregnable emporium, where all the world, but particularly those who are driven from the trade of Holland and Hamburgh, would readily fly, if we would give them a courteous reception. Situated as we are between the Baltic and the southern parts of Europe, and likewise for the trade  
between

between Europe and America, Britain should become the magazine of the universe.

‘ Let all foreign grain, then, be allowed importation at all times under the King’s lock, upon the principle of an *entrepôt*, there let it lay the pleasure of the owner for a market. We are better situated for it than Holland was; if any demand should be made from the southern markets, our own ships can be got out from our ports at all seasons of the year, which is not the case in Holland.

‘ We speak from fact and our own knowledge, that, was such a principle adopted, the corn-dealers in the north of Europe, and those who have long been in the trade in other quarters, would cheerfully avail themselves of it. But it is not only from the Baltic that considerable supplies of grain would be sent to such an *entrepôt*, but from America; their conscious security of the country, although they were seeking for markets, would always induce them, as they now often do, to touch at Ark or Falmouth, to learn the state of the European markets, or call for orders. Great numbers of the American merchants, and they are mostly bold and enterprising, would at once send their produce here for a market, and take our manufactures in return.

‘ From foreign grain being stored in this manner, would arise a certain advantage to the country. If, whilst our waste lands are getting into cultivation, any failure of our crops should take place, the stock in hand might be brought into the market by the regulations of the present, or some more judicious act. Monopoly, which is so much cried down, would not exist in the face of a large unknown stock; and if the price advanced under these circumstances, it would rise from an actual deficiency in the country, to supply which we should then always have a stock in store: for want of such a stock, prices rapidly advance here, and the advance is anticipated abroad; so that it costs us enormous prices unnecessarily created.’ p. 511, 512.

The short view which we have given of the contents of this book, leaves us but little to add upon its general merits. The author is never profound or philosophical in his views; nor does he seem to have powers for clear or comprehensive reasoning. He is often vague, redundant, desultory, and inconsistent; and his diction is mean and clumsy. But he is a man of great experience, and no small practical sagacity; and has produced a book more suited to the wants and to the capacity of ordinary traders, than the greater part of those which are founded upon juster maxims of policy.



ART. X. *Essays, chiefly on Chemical Subjects.* By William Irvine, M. D. F. R. S. Ed., Lecturer in Materia Medica and Chemistry in the University of Glasgow; and by his son W. Irvine, M. D. 8vo. pp. 490. London, 1805.

It has often been regretted by those who have paid attention to that interesting part of chemical science, which relates to the more abstruse doctrines of heat, that the theory proposed by the late Dr Irvine was never fully brought before the public. He himself gave no account of it, but in the chemical lectures which he delivered in the University of Glasgow; and although the heads of it have been stated by Dr Crawford, who was well qualified to do it justice, the statement was only incidental, subordinate to his own views, and, of course, unaccompanied by those details and illustrations which its author could have best given it, and which were necessary on a subject in some measure obscure. From this cause, although the outline of the theory has been generally known, its real merits have scarcely ever been fairly appreciated; it has often been misunderstood, nor has it yet had that rank assigned to it in chemical science to which it appears to us to be entitled.

Having long been accustomed to consider this theory of the distribution of heat in bodies, and of its absorption during liquefaction and vaporization, as the most philosophical that has yet been suggested, we turned to the perusal of this work with much curiosity and expectation. We have still to regret, however, that we have not the author's own statement and illustration of his peculiar views, or have them only in a very imperfect manner. In the preface, we are informed that Dr Irvine's manuscripts, at least in what relates to this subject, were in no respect fit for publication, and were even in such a state, that no satisfactory account of the experiments and theory could have been compiled from them. To Dr Irvine, junior, the editor of this publication, there only remained the alternative of availing himself of them as far as possible, in explaining and illustrating what he knew from other sources of his father's opinions; and although this is not precisely what those interested in the discussion would have wished, nor what we are persuaded it would have been the wish of the editor to present to the public, it is but justice to him to acknowledge, that he appears to be intimately acquainted with the subject; that he has bestowed on it much attention; and has conveyed to us some interesting information on his father's experiments. If some tincture of enthusiasm may, as he remarks, be expected in a son, who treats  
of

of his father's labours, we have not observed any want of candour, or any undue partiality to the doctrines he defends.

Dr Black was the discoverer of the important truth, that when a body is heated to the point at which it begins to melt, it is not sufficient to communicate to it merely a little more heat to produce an entire change in its form; but that, as the change proceeds, it absorbs a large quantity of caloric, which has no effect in increasing the temperature of the fluid, and which exists therefore in the body in this new form, in a state not discoverable by the thermometer; and again, that when the liquid is heated to the point at which it passes into vapour, a similar absorption of caloric, unaccompanied with any augmentation of temperature, takes place. The heat existing in this state Dr Black termed latent, to distinguish it from sensible heat, or that by which the temperature of the body is raised.

In speculating on this important truth, Dr Black supposed that the caloric which thus disappears is the cause of the change of form; that the latent heat existing in a fluid or vapour, is that which preserves it in these states; and that the vapour cannot be condensed, nor the liquid congealed, without this latent heat being withdrawn.

Dr Irvine viewed these phenomena in a different light; he regarded the absorption of caloric, not as producing, but as arising from the change of form. Dr Black had established, from an experiment related by Boerhaave, the important general conclusion, that in different bodies the same temperature is not, as we might perhaps be disposed to imagine *à priori*, produced by the same quantity of heat or caloric, but that one body will require a very different quantity from that required by another; and that, therefore, at any given point in the scale of the thermometer, different bodies, in equal quantities, whether estimated by weight or volume, contain very different quantities of this principle; a fact which came to be expressed by saying, that different bodies have different *capacities for heat*.

Now, it occurred to Dr Irvine, that the absorption of heat which attends both the melting of a body, and its transition into the elastic state, might be owing to an alteration in its capacity. When a solid becomes liquid, or a liquid is converted into vapour, he supposed that its capacity or power of containing heat may be enlarged; and if this happen, the necessary consequence must be the absorption of a quantity of caloric to keep up its temperature to the point in the scale of heat at which the change takes place. By saying that the capacity of a body is enlarged, nothing more is meant, than that, at a given temperature, it is capable of containing more caloric than formerly. If such an enlargement happen, therefore,

therefore, a quantity of caloric must be absorbed, by which the temperature will not be raised: this portion of caloric will disappear, or will not be discovered by the thermometer, and the phenomena of what Dr Black termed Latent heat, will be produced.

Dr Irvine ' was not disposed to consider the entrance of what is called latent heat into bodies as happening upon different principles from those which always direct the operations of caloric upon matter. Though ready to admit the discoveries of Dr Black, in all their extent and importance, and no man thought more highly of them, as none more fully appreciated their value, he imagined that latent heat was only a case of what occurred in every affection of bodies by heat, and that the caloric existed there precisely in the same way as at other times, and could be discovered by the same tests which at any time give notice of its presence. Not willing to descend to a dispute concerning a term, he was ready to admit the phrase, latent heat, as the expression of a new and curious fact, though not without some modification in the exact sense to be attached to it. He was accustomed to observe, that the latent heat followed as a mere consequence of his peculiar view of the operations of caloric; by this assertion, not claiming any share in the honour of discovering the existence of latent heat, but expressing that his theory being granted, the previous discovery of Dr Black fell into it as a part of a whole.' p. 50. 51.

The question then to be decided was, does this enlargement of capacity happen during these changes of form? To ascertain this, Dr Irvine made a number of experiments; and one of the most valuable parts of the present work is the account that is given of the manner in which these experiments were performed, as, with regard to this, chemists had hitherto no precise information. It had even been supposed that they had been made in a manner which would have rendered them altogether inconclusive, by mixing ice and water together at different temperatures. The ice would thus be melted, and a quantity of caloric would disappear. This might be owing to a change of capacity; but it might also be owing to the caloric entering into a more intimate combination. To say that it was owing to the former cause, would have been merely taking for granted the point in dispute. It was necessary, therefore, to render the experiment conclusive, that the capacity of the solid should be ascertained while it remained solid, and that of the fluid while it was fluid, and that in the progress of the experiment neither should change its form. The difficulty of executing such an experiment with accuracy must be obvious; and with regard to ice it could be performed only when the temperature of the atmosphere is very considerably below  $32^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; a cold which in our climate does not often occur; and when it does, is not of long duration. The subject, it appears,

pears, had engaged the attention of Dr Irvine for a number of years; and it would have been much to be regretted, had all record of his experiments been lost. A general account, however, sufficiently satisfactory, has fortunately been preserved.

The method employed, was to determine the respective capacities of ice and water by the medium of a third substance, which could first be mixed with the one at temperatures below  $32^{\circ}$ , and afterwards with the other at temperatures above this, and thus afford indications which would not be ambiguous from any change of form.

‘ He found the capacities of some suitable bodies, as river sand, or iron filings, and compared them with that of water in the usual manner. This being done, he used the same body to examine the capacity of pounded ice formed from distilled water, or of snow. The temperature of the room and vessel was, in his experiments, always either  $32^{\circ}$  or below it; most commonly considerably under  $32^{\circ}$ . He then took a known weight of snow or ice of a known temperature, in a vessel of which the capacity was determined by experiment. Upon this he poured a certain quantity of river sand washed, or iron filings of a certain temperature, with as much rapidity as possible; the new temperature was observed after stirring, and allowance was made for the heat gained or lost: the temperature of the mixture was frequently  $19^{\circ}$ ,  $20^{\circ}$ ,  $25^{\circ}$ ,  $16^{\circ}$ , &c. So that in a room where the air was below the freezing point, the accuracy of the result could not be affected by the formation of any water: still there are many sources of inaccuracy remaining. But in Dr Irvine’s hands, the capacity of ice always turned out to be less than that of water. In all his experiments, which were very numerous, and repeated with care for many succeeding years, he arrived at results approximating to each other, and concluded, to use his own words, that from the mean of all his trials, the capacity or relative heat of water to that of ice is not in a ratio greater than 5 to 4 or 10 to 8.

‘ In like manner, Dr Irvine extended his theory to all other bodies whatever, and in some cases determined, and in all inferred, that it is a general law of nature, that the capacity of all solids for heat is increased by fusion, and that of all fluids by vaporisation. This law, the existence of which was not before even suspected, must be considered as a highly important observation, as all generalisations of facts are to be regarded, and that whether the theory which is attempted to be deduced from it be ultimately established or overthrown.’ p. 55—57.

Do these experiments then prove the truth of Dr Irvine’s theory? Of this, we conceive, no just doubt can be entertained. Did the absorption of heat, which attends the melting of a body, arise from that heat entering into any peculiar state of combination—were the peculiarity in the relation of the body to caloric limited, as Dr Black in his speculations conceived it to be, to the actual liquefaction, it is obvious that the liquid, after it was formed,

formed, should suffer the same rise of temperature from a given quantity of caloric that the solid does. We learn, however, that it does not; it requires more caloric in the proportion, according to Dr Irvine, in the case of ice and water, of 10 to 8. Its capacity has therefore been enlarged; and with this fact it is impossible to maintain the theory of Dr Black, at least in its original form. The enlargement of capacity must occasion an absorption of caloric without any increase of temperature; or the cause, proved by experiment to exist, must necessarily produce the phenomena of latent heat; and the hypothesis of Dr Black is not only unnecessarily introduced, but seems to be awkwardly combined with a principle, of the truth of which we have experimental proof.

The simplicity of Dr Irvine's theory is its chief recommendation, and is singularly contrasted with the complicated hypothesis of Free and Combined Caloric. It regards this agent as existing in bodies only in one state; that which produces the general effect, we denominate temperature. It is acknowledged as a law, unequivocally established, that different bodies require different quantities of it to produce the same temperature; and at any point, therefore, in the scale of the thermometer, they will contain unequal quantities. If one body be fixed on as a standard, another may contain more caloric at a given temperature, and this excess may be said to be latent, as not being discoverable by the thermometer. But there is evidently no propriety in the distinction, nor any reason to regard the excess of caloric in those which contain more than the assumed standard, as in any respect different from the other portion they contain, or from that which is contained in others. If we extend the same principle to the different states in which a body exists, as well as to different bodies, we adopt the most simple and comprehensive view which can be taken of the distribution of caloric; and if the principle be established by actual experiment, why should there be any hesitation in receiving it in this case as well as in the other? The two are perfectly alike. At a given temperature, water contains more caloric than ice, and it also contains more caloric than lead. The quantity which it contains above lead, is said to be owing to its greater capacity: why should not the same cause be assigned for the greater quantity it contains compared with that existing in ice? Even as an hypothesis, analogy would be directly in favour of such a conclusion; and if established by experiment, the theory, in each of these cases, rests precisely on the same grounds.

It may be urged, perhaps, that, granting an augmentation of capacity to attend liquefaction or vaporisation, it is not proved to be

be proportional to the absorption of caloric, which likewise takes place. It is indeed scarcely possible to do so. But why limit the theory, by supposing, without any proof, that they are not proportional? or why render it complicated, by the introduction of an unnecessary assumption? If it were proved, indeed, that they were not proportional; if it were shewn that part of the caloric which disappears does actually enter into a peculiar combination or state of existence; or if there were any reason to believe that the phenomena attending the change of form could not be fully accounted for on the fact of a change of capacity—then, the limitation would be proper, and the charm of simplicity must be sacrificed to truth. But none of these points are established, and therefore they cannot be assumed as grounds of objection to the theory.

It is not shewn, nor, indeed, until an unexceptionable method be discovered of ascertaining the absolute heat of bodies, on some other principle than the changes of capacity which they suffer in changing their form, can it be shewn, that the quantity absorbed is not proportional to the change of capacity. The difference between the capacity of water and that of ice, it may be said, is only as 10 to 9; yet in the conversion of ice into water, not less than 140 degrees of Fahrenheit are absorbed, while in the after elevation of the temperature of the water, the quantity requisite is only one tenth more than that necessary to raise equally the temperature of ice. But it is to be recollected, that the quantity absorbed at the moment of change is that which is necessary to preserve the temperature of the body in its new form, through the whole range of the thermometrical scale, from the point of absolute privation; and as we do not know with precision the extent of this range, it is an absolute impossibility to shew that the quantity absorbed is more or less than it ought to be; nor is there any reason, from any knowledge we have of the scale of temperature, to infer that it is.

Neither is there any sound reason for believing that the portion of caloric which disappears in liquefaction or vaporisation, enters into any combination more intimate, or at all different from that in which the rest of the caloric in the body exists. The doctrine of combined caloric has little solid support; but whether it be established or not, it has been improperly stated as opposed to the doctrine of Irvine on latent heat. It is true that Dr Irvine, and also Dr Crawford, maintained the position, that no portion of caloric exists in bodies in a combined state different from that which produces temperature, and that the whole they contain is proportioned to their capacities. But even this is not necessary to support the

the theory, that the absorption of caloric, when bodies change their form, is owing to change of capacity. It might be admitted that a portion of caloric does exist in bodies in a combined state, without the conclusion following, that the quantity absorbed in liquefaction and vaporisation enters into such a state. The theory of this is to be inferred from the phenomena connected with it; and these give no countenance to the supposition that the caloric which disappears, or any part of it, enters into any peculiar or intimate combination.

Lastly, all the phenomena of latent heat are satisfactorily accounted for on the principle of a change of capacity. It is true, that it has been urged against this theory, that there are phenomena connected with the change of form for which it does not account. The great objection stated by Dr Black himself, and the only one not founded on misconception that has ever been urged against it is, that it does not account for the change itself. When a body is heated up to its melting point, what causes it to become liquid? Not sensible caloric, it is said; for the liquid, at its formation, is of no higher temperature than the solid from which it has been formed. The change, therefore, it has been inferred, must be owing to part at least of the caloric which disappears, entering into combination with the solid; and on this latent heat the fluidity is supposed to depend, while it is not disputed but that another portion may become latent from a change of capacity.

If Dr Irvine junior has failed in any part of the defence of his father's doctrine, we think it is in what relates to this objection. He first endeavours to obviate its force, by maintaining, in opposition to those who have hitherto adopted that doctrine, that it is not a just statement of it, that the form of a body is first changed, then its capacity enlarged, and lastly, that an absorption of caloric takes place.

'The difference between the whole heat in water at  $32^{\circ}$ , and the whole heat of ice at  $32^{\circ}$ , is called the latent heat of that body; and ice being converted into water, requires this quantity of caloric to retain its temperature at the same degree as before. But this caloric does not enter the ice before its capacity is changed. Much less is the capacity enlarged before the caloric enters the body. These events are synchronous, and are neither cause nor effect of each other, but are mutually the consequence of certain attractions or properties, which the ice and caloric are respectively possessed of.' p. 62.

Now, we are convinced that this view is erroneous. We have not been able to discover whether Dr Irvine himself has left any memorial of his opinion upon this subject; but we conceive it to be a necessary part of his system, that the form of a body is first changed; that

that by this the capacity is enlarged ; and that from this, again, a quantity of caloric is absorbed, and becomes latent. What other cause is to alter the capacity ? Not surely the specific combination of a portion of caloric ; for this would be a modification of Dr Black's theory ; and the question would recur, what determines this combination ? The cause must be assumed to be that change in the constitution of the body—in the arrangement of its particles, which accompanies fluidity. And this change of capacity, when it does happen, must necessarily be immediately attended with an absorption of caloric, and must therefore be regarded as its cause. The three events are no doubt, to our observation, simultaneous : but they are not actually so : the one must, momentarily at least, precede the other ; or, on the opposite supposition, we shall have no distinct view of the difference in the theories of Irvine and Black.

Dr Irvine does not appear, indeed, to be very well satisfied with this view of his father's doctrine ; and he endeavours to shew that the objection may be otherwise obviated. Various powers, he conceives, may operate, the operation of which we cannot easily trace ; such as electricity, magnetism, and galvanism : and ' something ought to be allowed for such circumstances, when we reason concerning the action of particles among each other.' p. 65. This reasoning the opponents of the system he defends will not, we are afraid, regard as satisfactory, and we conceive it to be altogether unnecessary. Did our limits admit of the discussion, we believe that it would not be difficult to shew that the change must be ascribed to the operation of sensible caloric alone ; that it is the result of its accumulating expansive power counteracting the cohesive attraction ; that this change must happen at an indivisible point in the thermometrical scale ; and that there is no force in this objection to Dr Irvine's system.

It has sometimes been said, that the view which Dr Irvine gives of these phenomena is ultimately the same with that given by Dr Black. Dr Black himself was sensible that it was not, and that Dr Irvine's theory was opposed to his. The same general fact, indeed, is admitted in both, or rather it is this fact for which they profess to account. A quantity of caloric is absorbed during liquefaction and vaporisation, without producing increase of temperature ; but the cause assigned for this is very different in the one theory from what it is in the other. Dr Black always regarded this as existing in the fluid or vapour in some peculiar state different from that portion of caloric which produces temperature, and which he denominated sensible heat. Dr Irvine considered it as not in the least different, as to its mode of existence, from the rest of the caloric which the body contains, or from that which



is contained in others. In consequence of the change of form, that body is capable of containing more caloric than it could do, while in its former state, at the same temperature, or requires more to produce a given temperature; and the caloric it absorbs, goes merely with the caloric it formerly contained, to preserve the temperature at which the change of form happened. Dr Black considered the change in the relation of the body to caloric as limited to the moment of liquefaction. Dr Irvine conceived the idea that it was not thus limited, but that this new relation was henceforward possessed by the fluid, and that in all subsequent elevations of temperature, the body, in this form, absorbs more caloric than it did while in the solid state. The two theories, therefore, whatever may be their merits, are totally distinct.

We have been told, too, that Dr Black's theory is simply the expression of the fact; that it is a plain doctrine, which, to be disputed, must be misunderstood. It would be so, if it merely announced, that when a solid becomes liquid, or a liquid is converted into vapour, a quantity of caloric is absorbed, which does not produce augmentation of temperature. But when it is affirmed that this portion of heat is the cause of fluidity, and is united with the body in some peculiar mode, to which its latent state is owing, it becomes an hypothesis, in opposition to which the theory of Irvine may be fairly opposed. Of their comparative merits, we believe few will doubt, who examine them with attention. Dr Black's may appear conformable to some loose analogies drawn from chemical combination. The other, independent of its experimental proof, is more simple and more conformable to the laws which caloric, in its relations to bodies, observes. To Dr Black will remain the honour of having discovered and established, by a series of admirable experiments, the general fact, that when bodies become liquid or aeriform, they absorb portions of caloric which do not augment their temperature; and to Dr Irvine, if we mistake not, will belong the praise of having given the just theoretical view of this important phenomenon. We consider the science as indebted to the editor for having brought the subject fully before the attention of chemists; and we have little doubt that he will have the satisfaction of having contributed to establish his father's fame.

Another interesting subject connected with Dr Irvine's theory, it is known, engaged the attention of that philosopher—the determination of the real zero or point at which the scale of temperature commences, or at which bodies would be deprived of caloric. At what distance from a given temperature, suppose that of freezing water, will this be found? It will be obvious to those who know any thing of the doctrines of heat, that such an actual

actual reduction of temperature as would reach this point is impracticable; and it must therefore, if the solution of the problem is to be attempted, be determined by calculation.

Dr Irvine was led, by the views his theory suggested, to the invention of a method of ascertaining the natural zero or point of total privation of heat, this method being 'founded on the consideration of the change of the capacity of bodies during their fusion, and of the quantity of caloric necessary to produce fluidity.' It is fully stated (p. 116.) from a manuscript of Dr Irvine's, which, from its length, we cannot insert. We can only observe, that it rests on the assumption that the quantity of caloric contained in bodies is proportioned to their capacity. If, therefore, the difference in the capacity of a body in its different states, for example, in those of solidity and fluidity, be determined, and if the quantity of caloric which it has absorbed or given out in the change of state be ascertained, we discover, by a simple calculation, the quantity of caloric it contains, and consequently the point in the thermometrical scale at which it would be deprived of caloric,—'the quantity being equal to the capacity of the solid multiplied by the latent heat, and divided by the difference of the capacities.' It may likewise be determined 'by the comparison of the capacities of any two bodies which unite chemically before and after mixture, combined with the observation of the heat given out at the same time.' From experiments in both modes, Dr Irvine fixed the zero at 900 below 0 of Fahrenheit. We cannot enter on the subject more fully, but may merely remark, that although the principle on which the solution of the problem is attempted is probably just, there are so many sources of error in the estimation of the capacities, and even in determining the quantities of heat evolved or absorbed, that we cannot place much confidence in the results; and accordingly these have differed widely as obtained by different experimenters. This has been ascribed to a radical fault in the method itself, while, on the other hand, it has been contended, that it may arise from the errors to which the methods of fixing the grounds of the calculation are liable; a position which Dr Irvine junior has, we think, succeeded in establishing.

We have entered so fully into the consideration of the first, and undoubtedly the most interesting part of this volume, that we can scarcely offer any observations on the remaining parts. The second is composed of essays written by Dr Irvine, and several of them read before the Literary Society of Glasgow. As the production of a man of talents and celebrity they must excite interest; but, independent of this, we have found in them some original views, and a number of curious and important facts, which we acknowledge, from considering the state of chemistry at the

time they were written, we did not expect. The first unfolds the principle on which the evolution of heat from chemical combination depends, and which Dr Crawford afterwards so successfully applied to the explanation of the origin of animal temperature, and of the heat produced in combustion. Among the others, we would particularly distinguish the essays on the seeds and roots of plants and on soils, and those on fermentation. In the former we have views of the circumstances connected with the growth, nutrition, and propagation of vegetables, of the nature of soils, the causes of their fertility, the changes they suffer by cultivation, and their adaptation to particular plants, which, even now, with the aid of modern chemistry, could not perhaps be much improved, and which the naturalist and the scientific agriculturist will peruse with pleasure. In the latter there are some practical details on the process of fermentation, and the substances susceptible of it, and some facts and principles stated which we have been taught to believe were of more recent discovery. In an essay on the quantity of matter in bodies, we have a very good sketch of the chemical views which immediately preceded the theory of Lavoisier, and some striking experiments on the increase of weight in metallic solutions.

The last part of the work consists of two essays by Dr Irvine junior; one on latent heat, in which are related a series of experiments on the quantities of caloric which become latent in the fusion of sulphur, and of several of the metals, and which have added some facts to those before known; and another on the affections of sulphur with caloric, directed principally to the investigation of the singular property which that substance exhibits of thickening after its fusion, by an elevation of temperature within a certain extent.

ART. XI. *Nathan the Wise: a Dramatic Poem. Written originally in German.* By G. E. Lessing. 8vo. pp. 293. London. 1805.

WE met with this volume by accident, a short time ago, and have been so much edified by its perusal, that we hasten to give our readers an account of it.

It is a genuine German drama, written without any imitation of French or English, and admirably calculated to elucidate the native and peculiar taste of that ingenious people. They have borrowed so much of late from both these quarters, that it may reasonably be doubted, whether a relish for their own original and

and appropriate literature be altogether so common in this country as is usually imagined. This book, we think, will afford a very useful test for determining that important problem, and will enable the reader immediately to ascertain whether he has hitherto admired the true German genius itself, or only its imitation of French and English. A traveller may very erroneously suppose that he relishes German cookery, when he gormandizes on *fricandeau* or *plum-pudding* at Vienna; but if he take delight in *four kroust* and *wild-boar venison*, he may rest assured that he is under no mistake as to the proficiency he has made, and that he has completely reconciled himself to the national taste of his entertainers. The work before us is as genuine *four kroust* as ever perfumed a feast in Westphalia.

The story, in point of absurdity, we think, is fairly entitled to bear away the palm from the celebrated German play in the poetry of the *Antijacobin*: the moral is no less comfortable; and the diction, though not altogether so lofty, is, upon the whole, entitled to equal admiration.

The scene is laid in Jerusalem in the time of the crusades; and the story turns chiefly upon the adventures of a young Templar, who had been made captive by the armies of the celebrated *Saladin*. This monarch, who is represented as a pattern of mildness and generosity, chuses to amuse himself one morning by seeing the heads of twenty prisoners struck off by his chief executioner, and witnesses the operation upon nineteen of them with singular complacency and satisfaction. Being struck, however, with a sort of resemblance which the twentieth seemed to bear to a favourite brother, who had disappeared many years before, he directs his life to be spared, and allows him to roam at large, in a starving condition, through all the streets of Jerusalem. In one of his evening rambles, this youth perceives the house of *Nathan the Jew* to be on fire; and gallantly going to the assistance of the city firemen, is the means of delivering the Jew's daughter from the flames. The young Israelite very naturally falls in love with her preserver; but he, having a bad opinion of the whole nation, keeps out of the way of her gratitude, till *Nathan* finds him out, and wins the affection of this Christian champion in a moment, by assuring him that he is not a Jew, but only a sort of *Deist*, who has acquired a habit of going to the synagogue without meaning any thing. The Templar protests that he is himself of the very same faith; and, after vowing eternal friendship, he goes home with him and falls furiously in love with the daughter.

In the mean time, *Saladin* sends for the Jew to lend him money, and to ask him which of the three religions is the best,—

the Christian, Jewish, or Mahometan. The learned Rabbi answers, that they are all very good in their way; but that it is impossible to say, till the day of judgment, which is the best: and then gratifying his royal pupil with heaps of gold, he leaves him enchanted with his wisdom and munificence. The Templar, without considering his vow of celibacy, now becomes very urgent to marry the daughter of Nathan; and some accidental obstacles being thrown in the way, it turns out, 1st, that this fair creature is not the Jew's daughter, but the daughter of a Christian Knight, who had confided her to his charge; 2d, that the gallant Templar is the son of the Saracen prince who had disappeared from Saladin's court, and, wandering into Europe, had been seized with the caprice of becoming a Knight Templar, and fighting against his own beloved brother, under which character he had chosen, however inconsistently, to marry a German lady, and beget this young hero; and, 3d, that the same illustrious convert was also the father of the Jew's reputed daughter, and consequently, that these young lovers stand to each other in the relation of brother and sister. The most edifying part of the story is, that this discovery produces no sort of uneasiness or disturbance to the parties concerned; on the contrary, the young people seem quite delighted with the occurrence; and the author leaves them embracing their uncle the Sultan, in a paroxysm of filial and paternal affection.

Such is the fable of *Nathan the Wise*. Its moral, we are informed, is to inculcate the duty of mutual indulgence in religious opinions: and truly, it must be confessed that it does this in a very radical and effectual way, by urging, in a very confident manner, the extreme insignificance of all peculiar systems of faith, or rather, the strong presumption against any of them being at all worth attending to, or in any respect better than another. The author's whole secret, for reconciling Jews, Mahometans, and Christians to each other, is, to persuade them all to renounce their peculiar tenets, and to rest satisfied with a kind of philosophical deism, in which they may all agree. The play, we are told, had a great effect in Germany, in quelling the dissensions of contending sectaries; and it is now made public in England with the same benevolent purpose. We would do much to forward the end, but we can by no means reconcile ourselves to the means which are here recommended. We shall quote a line or two, to shew that we do not at all misrepresent the doctrines of the author, when we say, that his antidote for religious intolerance is absolute indifference, or infidelity. When the Templar is reproaching the Jew with the prejudices and superstitions of his nation, he answers,

‘ *Nath.*

' *Nath.* ————— Despise my nation—  
 We did not chuse a nation for ourselves.  
 Are we our nations? What's a nation then?  
 Were Jews and Christians such, ere they were men?  
 And have I found in thee one more, to whom  
 it is enough to be a man?

' *Temp.* ————— That hast thou;  
 Nathan, by God, thou hast. Thy hand; I blush  
 to have mistaken thee a single instant.' p. 101.

This pious Knight makes a still clearer profession of his faith in a dialogue with a Christian woman, in which the poor damsel having happened to say,

' *Daya.* ————— nor were this time  
 the first, when thro' an unexpected path  
 the Saviour drew his children on to him  
 across the tangled maze of human life.'

he answers,

' *Temp.* So solemn that! and yet if in the stead  
 of Saviour, I were to say Providence,  
 it would sound true ———' p. 170.

The creed of the Sultan appears, from a variety of passages, to be equally liberal and accommodating.

The diction and composition of this piece is not, as we have already observed, altogether so magnificent or ambitious as that of the modern German theatre. It aims rather at great simplicity and aptness. The dialogue is the most familiar and natural imaginable, and the metaphors and figures which are introduced the most humble and homely. There is a vein of innocent jocularity which runs through the whole drama; and the sultan and his ministers gibe and play upon each other, in the very same style of infantine raillery and impatience, which prevails between the young Jewess and her governante. The personages are all very quick and snappish withal, without ever subjecting themselves to the agitation of the greater passions; and the author has contrived most ingeniously to produce a drama, which has all the levity of comedy, without its wit or vivacity, and all the extravagance of tragedy, without its passion or its poetry.

The translator, we think, has done great justice to his original; except that his partiality for the German idiom has induced him to stick to it occasionally, to the manifest prejudice of his English: his notions of metrical harmony are probably borrowed from the same source. But our readers will judge better of the work by a specimen. The following is the Templar's first soliloquy, after he has fallen in love with the Jewess.

' *Temp.* ————— 'Tis sure I fled in vain;  
 but more than fly I could not do, whatever

comes of it. Ah! to ward it off—the blow was given too suddenly, Long, much, I strove to keep aloof; but vainly. Once to see her—her, whom I surely did not court the sight of, to see her, and to form the resolution, never to lose sight of her here again, was one—The resolution?—No, 'tis will, fixt purpose, made, (for I was passive in it) seal'd, doom'd. To see her, and to feel myself bound to her, wove into her very being, was one—remains one. Separate from her, to live is quite unthinkable—is death. And whereforever after death we be, there too the thought were death. And is this love? Yet so in troth the templar loves—so—so—the Christian loves the Jewels. What of that? Here in this holy land, and therefore holy and dear to me, I have already doff'd some prejudices.—Well—what says my vow? As templar I am dead, was dead to that from the same hour which made me prisoner to Saladin. But is the head he gave me my old one? No. It knows no word of what was prated into 'yon, of what had bound it. It is a better; for its patrial sky fitter than yon. I feel—I'm conscious of it. With this I now begin to think, as here my father must have thought; if tales of him have not been told untruly. Tales—why tales? They are credible—more credible than ever—now that I'm on the brink of stumbling, where he fell. He fell? I'd rather fall with men, than stand with children. His example pledges his approbation; and whose approbation have I else need of? Nathan's? Surely, of his encouragement, applause, I've little need to doubt—O what a Jew is he! yet easy to pass for the mere Jew.' p. 159, 160.

The following is part of the first dialogue that passes between the lovers.

*Recha.* Where have you been? where you perhaps ought not—

That is not well.

*Temp.* Up—how d'ye call the mountain?  
up Sinai.

*Recha.* Oh that's very fortunate.  
Now I shall learn for certain, if 'tis true—

*Temp.*

*Temp.* What ! If the spot may yet be seen where Moses stood before God ; when first—

*Recha.* No, no ; not that.  
Where'er he stood, 'twas before God. Of this I know enough already. Is it true, I wish to learn from you, that—that it is not by far so troublesome to climb this mountain as to get down—for on all mountains else, that I have seen, quite the reverse obtains. ' p. 128-29.

After some farther talk, equally innocent and edifying, the amorous Templar exclaims—

' *Temp.* How truly said thy father, " Do but know her ! "

*Recha.* Who has—of whom—said so to thee ?

*Temp.* Thy father

said to me, " Do but know her, " and of thee. ' p. 130.

The following soliloquy of the Wise Nathan, when the sultan leaves him to ponder on his query about the three religions, is in a loftier style, and is in the best and most sententious manner of the author.

*Nath.* I came prepared with cash—he asks truth. Truth ? as if truth too were cash—a coin diffus'd that goes by weight—indeed 'tis some such thing—but a new coin, known by the stamp at once, to be flung down and told upon the counter, it is not that. Like gold in bags tied up, so truth lies hoarded in the wife man's head to be brought out—Which now in this transaction, which of us plays the Jew ? he asks for truth—is truth what he requires, his aim, his end ? That this is but the glue to lime a snare ought not to be suspected, 'twere too little, yet what is found too little for the great—In fact, thro' hedge and pale to stalk at once into one's field befalls not—friends look round, seek for the path, ask leave to pass the gate—I must be cautious. Yet to damp him back, and be the stubborn Jew, is not the thing ; and wholly to throw off the Jew, still less. For if no Jew he might with right inquire—why not a Musulman ? — ' p. 145-46.

We suspect our readers have enough now ; yet there are many choice phrases and images to be culled. Nathan, reproving pride, says,

' The iron pot would with a silver prong  
be lifted from the fire. '

The fair Recha comparing the truth of Christianity to weeds sown in her mind, says,

——' Yet



—' Yet I must acknowledge

I feel as if they had *a sour sweet odour*,  
that makes me giddy,—that half suffocates me.'

And her handmaid, observing the agitation of her lover, observes with much elegance,

—' Something passes in him.

It boils—but it must not boil over. Leave him—

The same personage conceiving Nathan to be somewhat severe in his sarcasms, replies to him with great spirit, by first saying, '*Hit off*,' and then exclaiming, '*you are on the bite*.' We suspect, however, that we are indebted to the taste of the translator for the dignity of these two repartees. There is one other phrase to which he seems particularly partial, and which has a very singular effect on his composition. He can by no chance be prevailed upon to use the verb '*to find*,' without coupling it with the particle '*up*;' thus, he says, 'We'll find thee up a staff;' —'go find me up the Jew;' —'Will no one find me the Dervis up;' —'I wish to find him up that may convert her,' &c. &c. The phrase occurs at least twenty times; and, whether it be borrowed from the idiom of the original, or invented by the translator, must certainly be allowed to possess singular grace and animation.

We have now exhibited enough, we conceive, of this drama, to satisfy the greater part of our readers, that, in spite of some late alarming symptoms, there is good reason for holding, that there is still a considerable difference between the national taste of Germany and of this country. The piece before us, has not only been a favourite acting play for these last six and twenty years, but it is considered as one of the best productions of their celebrated Lessing, who is vaunted as the purest and most elegant of their dramatic writers, and has long been the idol of those who cry down Schiller and Kotzebue as caricaturists. The translation is from the pen of Mr Taylor of Norwich, whose admirable versions of *Lenore*, and of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, have placed him at the head of all our translators from that language.

ART. XII. *English Lyrics. Third Edition.* By William Smyth, Fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 150. London, 1806.

THIS is a very elegant and pleasing little volume: the work evidently of a man of refined taste and amiable dispositions. The character of the poetry is delicacy rather than force; tenderness

derness rather than enthusiasm ; and a sort of contemplative morality, somewhat ' sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,' instead of the strong emotions and lofty conceptions of the bolder lyric. The author holds dalliance with the Muse, but is not possessed by her ; he rather guides his genius, than is impelled by it ; and stands too much in dread of faults, to attain many of the greater beauties. There is nothing of narrative, and very little of character or manners in his volume. It is made up of dissections of the finer feelings, reflections on innocent unhappiness, and allegorical sketches of the passions by which life is governed. The composition is sometimes enlivened by the beautiful workings of fancy, and sometimes debased by the affectation of unnecessary refinement. In short, if the reader can form to himself the idea of a middle style, between the capricious prettiness of Shenstone, and the bold and abstract personifications of Collins, he will have attained a very just conception; we think, of the style of Mr Smyth's *English Lyrics*.

It was a bold attempt to inscribe an ' Ode to Pity,' after the author we have just mentioned ; yet the following stanzas are elegant.

' O Pity ! all my sighs are thine,  
 My follies pause, my bosom warms,  
 My musing griefs to bliss refine,  
 Whene'er I mark thy sorrowing forms ;  
 The love-lorn maid that long believed,  
 Now sinking lone, now undeceived,  
 —Or him, 'mid fortune's gathering gloom,  
 Condemned the smile of bliss to wear,  
 While baffled hope and rankling care  
 His generous heart consume.

' The exile grey, when start to view  
 The tears, that speak the exiled soul ;  
 The mother, as she bids adieu,  
 And turns, her anguish to controul ;  
 The hectic form, the beauteous maid,  
 That just as life its charm display'd,  
 To death devoted, glides away,  
 With brilliant eye, that watery gleams,  
 While still the rosy spectre dreams  
 Of many a morrow gay.' p. 67, 68.

The following lines express a common thought ; but express it, we think, with great tenderness and beauty.

' Ah, Julia ! must that morrow come,  
 When I in anguish shall behold  
 That cheek with animated bloom  
 No longer warm—pale, shrunk—and cold—

Those lips, whence I such kisses steal,  
 Robb'd of their dye and honied store,  
 No more to make one proud appeal,  
 Or speak one tempting challenge more ?

• Ah ! must that hour at length arrive,  
 When I may press that hand so fair,  
 Now to my slightest touch alive,  
 Yet feel no pulses trembling there ?  
 Nor more those eyes of soften'd blue  
 With liquid fondness sparkling beam,  
 But seem their long, their last adieu,  
 In every faded look to gleam.

• In some dread season of despair,  
 Must keen disease, must wasting pain,  
 Seize e'en thy form ? and I be near,  
 To count the sighs that moan in vain ;  
 Wipe thy damp brow, with trembling hand,  
 See o'er thy frame Death's tremors creep,  
 Pale o'er thy sinking ruin stand,  
 And feel the grief that cannot weep.' p. 26, 27.

The next is in a more cheerful and familiar tone.

• True, Laura, true ! I own with pain,  
 That goodness oft must toil in vain,  
 Thy beauteous charge, the orphan maid,  
 But ill thy generous care repaid ;  
 How could the hapless truant flee  
 From peace, and innocence, and thee ?  
 Oft as we stray this cottage nigh,  
 I feel how just thy passing sigh.

• Thou canst not from this scene below,  
 Chase every vice and every woe ;  
 Thou canst not wave a fairy wand,  
 Nor nature change, nor fate command ;  
 Oh ! faster will the weed appear,  
 Than art of thine the flower can rear,  
 Yet flowers by thee may learn to blow,  
 And weeds less rank, less widely grow.

• Look round, my love, this hamlet see,  
 Its virtues all are reared by thee ;  
 From thee its follies would retreat,  
 Its vices fear thy glance to meet ;  
 To thee the young for learning bend,  
 The poor have marked thee for their friend ;  
 And every grief to thee appeals,  
 Which pity soothes or bounty heals.

See,

' See, as we pass, each peasant's eye  
 Gives thee a praise no gold can buy ;  
 Yon rosy child at distance view,  
 Preparing all in order due,  
 With courtsey grave to stop thy way,  
 And it shall look so proudly gay,  
 Soon as thy soft salute it hears,  
 Soon as thy smile its homage cheers.' p. 76—78.

The following is quite lively ; and is the only gayety, we believe, in the volume.

" The Soldiers are coming," the villagers cry,  
 All trades are suspended to see us pass by ;  
 Quick flies the glad sound to the maiden up stairs,  
 In a moment dismiss'd are her broom and her cares ;  
 Outstretched is her neck, till the Soldiers she sees,  
 From her cap the red ribbon plays light in the breeze,  
 But lighter her heart plays, as nearer we come,  
 And redder her cheek at the sound of the Drum.

' The veteran, half dozing, awakes at the news,  
 Hobbles out, and our column with triumph reviews :  
 Near his knee, his young grandson with ecstasy hears  
 Of majors, and generals, and fierce brigadiers ;  
 Of the marches he took, and the hardships he knew,  
 Of the battles he fought, and the foes that he slew ;  
 To his heart spirits new in wild revelry come,  
 And make one rally more at the sound of the Drum.' p. 102-3.

There are some things finical, however, and some unmeaning, in these poems. In some verses on the Liverpool Asylum, the simple circumstance of the blind being led about by children, or obliged to grope their way with sticks, loses all its pathos by an attempt to express it with dignity.

' Helpless, as they slowly stray,  
 Childhood points their cheerless way ;  
 Or the wand exploring guides  
 Falt'ring steps, where fear presides.' p. 29.

In the delineation of such objects, we are perfectly satisfied that the school of Southey and Coleridge is right, and that the whole effect of the representation must depend on the humble simplicity of the statement.

The following stanza seems rather to have been formed on the model of the love song by a person of quality.

' Soft Cherub of the southern breeze,  
 O if aright I tune the reed  
 Which thus thine ear would hope to please,  
 By simple lay, and humble meed.' p. 2.

The concluding verses of this poem, however, are pretty; and with them we shall finish our extracts.

' I court thee, thro' the glimmering air,  
When morning springs from slumbers still,  
And waving bright his golden hair,  
Stands tiptoe on yon eastern hill.

I court thee, when at noon reclined,  
I watch the murmuring insect throng  
In many an airy spiral wind,  
Or silent climb the leaf along.

I court thee when the flow'rets close,  
And drink no more receding light,  
And when calm eve to soft repose  
Sinks on the bosom of the night.

And when beneath the moon's pale beam,  
Alone mid shadowy rocks I roam,  
And waking visions round me gleam,  
Of beings and of worlds to come.

Smooth glides with thee my pensive hour,  
'Thou warm'st to life my languid mind;  
'Thou cheer'st a frame with genial power,  
That droops in every ruder wind.

Breathe, Cherub! breathe! once soft and warm,  
Like thine the gale of Fortune blew,  
How has the desolating storm  
Swept all I gazed on from my view!

Unseen, unknown, I wait my doom,  
'The haunts of men indignant flee,  
Hold to my heart a lifeless gloom,  
And joy but in the muse and thee.' p. 3. 4.

Upon the whole, we think these English Lyrics very amiable and innocent. The author does not perhaps possess any extraordinary vigour or originality of genius; nor are his images delineated with that pencil 'whose colours are the light of setting suns;' but they have great harmony and grace of disposition, and are finished with all the softness and tenderness of a moon-light landscape. The author repeatedly expresses an ambition to be popular among the ladies; and we think he is well qualified to succeed; at any rate, we can conscientiously recommend his book to all our fair readers, as fully better suited for their perusal than the Lyrics of Mr Moore.

ART. XIII. *The Life of Thomas Dermody: interspersed with Pieces of Original Poetry, many exhibiting unexampled prematurity of genuine poetical Talent; and containing a series of Correspondence with several eminent Characters.* By James Grant Raymond. Two Volumes 12mo. pp. 600. London, 1806.

THERE is a celebrated sort of snuff, the name of which, we think, conveys a pretty exact idea of the hero of this extraordinary biography: but it is more polite to his patrons and admirers to say, that these volumes contain the history of another Savage—born in a lower rank of life, and earlier set loose from the restraints of discipline and morality.

It is lamentable to think how little the treatment of persons who labour under the complicated diseases of poverty, poetry, and want of principle, is yet understood in this country. The common method has hitherto been, to encourage the immorality by indulgence, to repress the poetry by extravagant and pernicious applauses, and to exasperate the symptoms of poverty by thoughtless and unmeasured profusion, succeeded by desertion and neglect. The case of the unhappy patient before us, appears indeed to have been very desperate; and it is but justice to his patrons to say, that many of them appear to have followed a very rational system of cure: it failed however entirely, partly through the original bad constitution of the subject, and partly through the mismanagement of certain of his romantic admirers. We look upon the publication of these two thick volumes (with the threat of as many more), and the style of bombastic encomium in which they are written, as a considerable impertinence in relation to taste, sense, and morality: but the story they contain is curious, and not altogether uninteresting. The symptoms are common enough in forward and ill educated youth; but they are so unusually violent in this particular case, as to render it an object of interest.

Thomas Dermody was the son of a tippling schoolmaster in the west of Ireland; and copied all his father's accomplishments with so premature an alacrity, that, before he was ten years of age, if we are to believe this minute chronicler, he was an excellent classical scholar—and a confirmed drunkard. At this early age, he is said to have composed a monody on the death of a brother, which is inserted in this work, and certainly indicates an astonishing prematurity in the arts of composition and versification, although, in substance, it is little more than a cento from the *Lycidas* and other minor poems of Milton. As we think this nearly as good as any of the productions of his maturer age, we shall insert a few lines as a specimen of his infantine powers.

‘ Ah !

Ah no : of simple structure was his lay ;  
 Yet unprofan'd with trick of city art,  
 Pure from the head, and glowing from the heart.—  
 Thou dear memorial of a brother's love,  
 Sweet flute, once warbled to the list'ning grove,  
 And master'd by his skilful hand,  
 How shall I now command  
 The hidden charms that lurk within thy frame,  
 Or tell his gentle fame ?  
 Yet will I hail, unmeet, his star-crown'd shade ;  
 And beck his rural friends, a tuneful throng,  
 To mend the uncouth lay, and join the rising song.  
 Ah ! I remember well yon oaken arbour gay,  
 Where frequent at the purple dawn of morn,  
 Or 'neath the beetling brow of twilight grey,  
 We fate like roses twain upon one thorn,  
 Telling romantic tales of descant quaint,  
 Tinted in various hues with fancy's paint :  
 And I would hearken, greedy of his sound,  
 Lapt in the bosom of soft ecstasy,  
 Till, lifting mildly high  
 Her modest frontlet from the clouds around,  
 Silence beheld us bruise the closing flow'rs,  
 Meanwhile she fled her pure ambrosial show'rs.' p. 6—7.

Before he had completed his eleventh year, this youthful minstrel determined to break from the bondage of his father's house, to seek for adventures and fame in the metropolis ; and set out accordingly, with one shirt and two shillings in his pocket. As an example of the absurd style in which his biographer has chosen to deliver his narrative, and an apology for quoting no more from him as we proceed, we give the following minute account of his outset.

' He had painted to himself the pleasures of the capital in all the voluptuous tints of a warm and juvenile imagination : and was fully persuaded that it was the emporium of felicity ; where the union of virtue, satisfaction, and useful amusement, was to be found. With his senses wrapt in this delightful reverie, he strayed many miles before he perceived that he had lost his way. However, looking on this as a favourable interposition of fortune, after a short pause, he broke off boldly towards the road ; and casting a last look on his native village, which now seemed sinking behind the neighbouring trees, he shed a tear of affectionate regret, which was soon dried by a smile of fervid expectation. While pleasingly contemplating the scenes which his fancy suggested, he soon beguiled a great extent of ground, for desire gave additional vigour to his exertions. At last he recollected that it would be proper for him to look about for a lodging : but no token of any such retreat could he discover, except the languid glimmer of a lone cottage

cottage standing in a dark avenue; and to this he turned with the utmost speed.' Vol. I. p. 11. 12.

He meets with a funeral, a merry parish clerk, and a carrier, on this expedition; and, by the good offices of the latter, is safely deposited in the heart of the city of Dublin. There he is picked up by two stall bookfellers, the one of whom wants to make him a sort of tutor to his son, and the other attempts to employ him as a shop-boy; but his irritability, and love of drinking, render him unfit for either situation; and he fortunately attracts the notice of Dr Houlton, who takes him into his house, furnishes him with books, and exhibits him to his friends as a prodigy of learning and ingenuity. He takes it violently amiss, however, that the good Doctor objects to his reading in bed, and mutters something heroic as to the horrors of dependence. The Doctor being forced to go to a different part of the kingdom, gives him much good advice, and a handsome sum of money, and leaves him again to his own discretion.

This money, though still under twelve years of age, he immediately spends in low debauchery, and then takes shelter with a painter whom he had seen at Dr Houlton's house, and condescends to act as his errand-boy, and to wash the brushes and heat the fire-pots of his master, when he was employed in painting some scenes at the playhouse. In this situation, he produced a poem on the performers, which excited great attention in the green-room, and procured him, in particular, the patronage of Mr Owenfon, who charitably took him home to his own house, and exerted all his influence to procure him some permanent establishment. Dr Young, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College, undertook to superintend his studies; but he soon deserted his instructor, and went about idling, while he induced his benevolent patron to believe that he was diligent in his attendance. The detection of this duplicity occasioned a degree of disgust; and Mr Owenfon was glad to transfer his wayward pupil to the Rev. G. Autlin, who now kindly undertook to board and instruct him. By this gentleman's interest, a subscription was set on foot for publishing a collection of his poems, before he was fourteen years of age: a considerable sum was collected, and the infant poet was introduced, like the Young Roscius of his day, into all the literary and fashionable circles of the metropolis. His inherent profligacy, however, was, if possible, still more wonderful than his early acquirements; and his partial biographer relates with regret, that neither the example of his benefactors, nor the dread of their displeasure, could, even at this early age, overcome his decided attachment to low company, and the most gross and brutal debauchery. To these strange and disgusting excesses, he



seems to have added the practice of habitual falsehood. He was detected in a very barefaced imposition of this nature, and degraded for it by his patron from the parlour to the kitchen, where he wrote some libellous and ungrateful verses against him, which excited the resentment of that gentleman so excessively, that he returned all the subscriptions he had collected for him—burned his poems, and turned him out of his doors. He then made various applications for money, to those who had honoured him with their subscriptions, and, by the good offices of his friend Mr Owenson, was taken into the protection of the Dowager Countess of Moira.

This lady, who seems to have been the most intelligent of all his patrons, removed him immediately from the metropolis, and placed him in the family of the Reverend Mr Boyd at Killeagh, where, for a period of two years, she supported him in the most liberal manner, and endeavoured to reclaim him by the most earnest and appropriate advice. His partial biographer, however, is forced to admit, that even in this retreat, he speedily gave way to his inherent propensities to intemperance and low company, and spent the greater part of his time carousing in the alehouse with the parish clerk, the village tailor, and all the dissipated rustics in the neighbourhood. The restraint under which he was held by the superintendence of his reverend tutor, appears to have disgusted him with the tranquil and secure life which he now lived; and, with the native restlessness of a vagrant and disorderly person, he began to hanker after the tumult and adventure of that precarious and mendicant existence from which he had just been rescued. He proceeded, accordingly, not only to scandalize his benefactress by new excesses of irregularity, but to fatigue and insult her by clamorous lamentations over the bondage in which he was held, and demands for the independence to which he had been taught to look forward. We have great pleasure in inserting the answer which this excellent and benevolent person returned to these turbulent effusions. Instead of the passion and pettishness of disappointed selfishness or romance, it indicates the steady justice of an enlightened and benevolent mind.

“Lady Moira informs Thomas Dermody, that Mr Berwick (who is in the country) has transmitted to her a letter which Dermody had written to him, and that she has also received that which Dermody has written to her; both letters intimating his desire and design to withdraw himself from Lady Moira's direction, and consequent protection. Lady Moira makes not the least objection to that determination; and has enclosed to Mr Boyd ten guineas, that he may enter upon his future schemes, and follow his own pursuits, not totally in a destitute condition.

“Lady

" Lady Moira had hoped, that from his residence with the Rev. Mr Boyd, he would not only have acquired literary information, but also in the course of two years, from the influence of mature reason, have attained to the prudent reflection of how incumbent it was for him to practise an exact conduct, to efface the prejudices his former behaviour had impressed. What attainments he has made in literature, it is not in her power to decide : she is persuaded that it could only arise from his own negligence, if he has not profited from Mr Boyd's instructions. That he has not received any benefit from reflection, the style of impropriety which runs through his letters plainly evinces. Lady Moira warns him, that the waywardness of his nature, and the ill-founded degree of self-conceit he indulges himself in respecting his genius, will prevent his ever having friends, or arriving at success, through the course of his future life, unless he alters his conduct and his sentiments.

" As Dermody has thought proper to withdraw himself from her direction and protection in a manner equally ungracious and absurd, Lady Moira informs him that the donation which accompanies this note, is the last attention or favour that he is ever to expect from Lady Moira, or any of her family." Vol. I. p. 252-3.

Immediately upon receiving this note, the infatuated boy grasped the money with eagerness, indited a farewell ode to his friends at the alchouse, and rushed again into the miseries and profligacy of the metropolis. Here he was soon reduced to beggary, and begged : however, by the assistance of Mr Owenston, he printed a volume of poems, and was patronized by Mr Grattan, Mr Flood, Mr Monk Mason, and various other persons of notoriety ; but his incurable propensities alienated all his protectors in succession, and indeed made all pecuniary assistance unavailing. Although he had written a foolish revolutionary pamphlet, the late Lord Kilwarden, then attorney-general, was pleased to interest himself in his behalf ; and although, on the first visit, he was carried dead drunk from the table, carried his munificence so far as to engage apartments for him in the College, and make offer of defraying the whole of his expences, besides allowing him 30l. a year for pocket-money. This most liberal and generous offer he had the unpardonable folly to refuse, for no other reason that appears, but that he entertained an abhorrence of all regular application, sobriety, or polished society. The Attorney-General, of course, withdrew his patronage from so perverse a profligate, and he had recourse again to beggary and occasional poetry.

He had not yet wearied out Irish indulgence. Mr Smith and Mr Emerson now undertook to provide for him : but because they ventured sometimes to remonstrate with him on his irregularities, he suddenly withdrew himself from their notice, and ' abandoned himself,' as our author expresses it, ' to the most depraved society, whose pursuits and enjoyments were both disreputable and pernicious.' Deserted at last even by

those base associates, he wandered about for many weeks without any habitation, or any means of subsistence, 'but the casual donations which his wretched appearance extorted from the humanity of those to whom he presented mean petitions.' In this situation he meditated a visit to London, and wrote some abusive and scurrilous verses upon that country which had so long tolerated and supported his vices by its liberal and long-suffering munificence. In his drunken fits he was twice enlisted by a crimping serjeant, and twice set at liberty by his friends; but, upon falling into this scrape for the third time, it was judged proper by Lord Moira and his other patrons, that he should be allowed to remain, for some time at least, in the ranks, to try whether military discipline might not effect that reformation which had proved impracticable by any other method.

For a considerable time there seemed to be good ground for hoping that this experiment would prove successful;—he was promoted to be a serjeant for good behaviour, and at last, upon the failing of the English army for Flanders, was appointed by Lord Moira second lieutenant to a waggon corps, and served abroad, with no discredit or remarkable irregularity, for the long period of four years. On the reduction of this army, he was put upon half-pay, which secured him a regular annuity of 32l.

The beneficence of the Earl of Moira now induced him to provide for his accommodation, and put him in the way of literary advancement; but he squandered the liberal supplies of his protector, and returning to the pursuits of low debauchery, was very soon reduced to prison, from which he was only released by the kindness of his patron. He was no sooner at liberty, than all thoughts of reformation vanished;—he mortgaged his half-pay, boarded himself with a drunken Irish cobbler in Westminster, and spent his days and nights in the most offensive intemperance with him and his associates. Lord Moira, though he never deserted him entirely, was now forced to abandon the idea of bringing him forward to public notice.

In 1800 he published a collection of his poems; but he was now twenty-five years of age; and the public, that had clapped and shouted the infant poet, did not find any subject for rapturous admiration in the improved production of the man. He was soon naked and destitute again, and then applied to Sir James Bland Burges. Sir James gave him a draught on his banker for ten pounds; and as soon as he had got home, Dermody wrote a letter, stating that he had lost the draught by the way, and requesting to have another of equal value. On sending to the banker, Sir James found that the first draught had been presented and paid to the poet, who makes a most awkward apology for the imposition, and is again received into favour. By the  
intercession

intercession of this new patron, he was now recommended to the consideration of the Literary Fund; and received a supply of money and clothes, that seemed to put him, for a time at least, beyond the reach of exposure. Our readers, however, will perceive, from the following extract, how greatly his misconduct exceeded all ordinary calculation.

‘As he was now well dressed, apparently relieved from his embarrassments, and with favourable prospects opening to him, his friends entertained a hope that he would have discretion enough to make a good use of his prosperity. But this expectation was very short-lived. Within a week after he had appeared in his new clothes, as Sir James Burges was sitting in the evening in his library, he heard a loud noise and a violent altercation in his hall. On going out to inquire the cause of such an unusual tumult, he found Dermody struggling with two of his servants, who endeavoured to prevent him from forcing his way into the house. And, indeed, his appearance was such as completely to justify them; for he was literally in rags, was covered with mud (in which it appeared that he had been just rolled), had a black eye, and a fresh wound on his head from which the blood trickled down his breast; and, to crown the whole, was so drunk as to be hardly able to stand or speak. As soon as Sir James could recognize him, he released him from the hands of his servants; and conducting him into his library, inquired the reason of his appearing in such a condition. Dermody accounted for his being so ill dressed, by saying that he had pawned his new clothes. As for his dirt and wounds, he said he had been arrested and carried to a spunging-house, where he had been drinking with the bailiffs, and writing a poem which he wished to take to Sir James, but they would not let him; so that he had watched his opportunity, and slipped off; but had been overtaken by them, and obliged to fight his way.’ II. 169-70.

The compassion of Sir James withstood this exhibition; and he persisted in his attention to this devoted bacchanal, till his repeated misconduct and shameless solicitations at last wearied out his benevolence, and shut his ears to his entreaties. The way in which he now lived, may be judged of from the following passages.

‘At one time he might be seen in his garret in company with his hosts the cobbler and his wife, and some attic lodger of equal consequence, regaling on a goose which his industry had roasted by a string in his own apartment: while the pallet-bed, which stood in a corner, was strewn with various vegetables; the fire-side decorated with numerous foaming pots of porter; and the cobbler’s work-stool, boot-leg, lap-stone, &c. were commodiously placed as seats. On another occasion, in some neighbouring alehouse, entertaining the same personages with the various rarities which resorts of this description generally afford; where, as the astonished guests, enveloped in clouds of smoke, sat listening with rapture to the eloquence of Dermody, the host was to be discovered in the back-ground applauding with one hand, while his other dexterously scored an additional item to the bill.’ II. 223-4.

' At another time, his biographer having occasion to call for him, on entering the house his ears were assailed by violent plaudits and huzzas, which appeared to issue from the attic storey. Having little curiosity to inquire into the cause of these extraordinary rejoicings, he only requested to see Dermody. The good woman of the house quickly despatched a messenger to give the proper information; and the author was soon ushered into a room, at the top of which sat Dermody in a new suit of clothes, surrounded by half a score of the landlord's smoking acquaintances; the table strewed with tobacco, pipes, and a plentiful flow of wine and spirits; and the sideboard loaded with bottles, the late contents of which had left the members of this elevated society in a state of equal jollity and confusion.' II. 225-6.

We add but one trait more.

' A few days previous to writing this letter, Dermody had dined in Piccadilly; when the author, perceiving his shoes and stockings to be in a very bad condition, sent and purchased a pair of each, which Dermody put into his pocket with the intention of wearing them the following morning. The next evening, however, he made his appearance without either shoes, stockings, hat, neckcloth, or waistcoat; and in a state of intoxication not to be endured. He had pledged the shoes and stockings, got drunk with the money, and in a fray in the streets had lost his other necessaries. He entered the house in this state, told his tale, threw on the floor the duplicate of the articles he had pledged, demanded other apparel, was refused, swore a few oaths, threatened to destroy a sideboard of glass, alarmed the whole family, was turned out of doors, and during the remainder of the night took shelter in a shed fitted up for some cattle in one of the fields leading from Westminster to Chelsea.' Vol. II. Note, p. 229-30.

His last patron was Lord Sidmouth, who enabled him to bring out another volume of poetry in 1802, and contributed liberally to his comfort and relief. But no admonitions could withhold Dermody many hours from the pot-house, and no money could keep him many days from the gaol. His constitution at last gave way under the pressure of so many irregularities; he ran from his creditors and benefactors, to a miserable cottage in the village of Sydenham, where he expired, in July 1802, at the age of 27.

Such is the history of Thomas Dermody; whose adventures<sup>d</sup> are chronicled in these volumes with as much minuteness as if he had been a paragon of worth and accomplishment, and whose genius is trumpeted forth as if it had outshone that of all his poetical predecessors. We confess that we do not perceive the utility of such a publication; and that we look with some degree of disapprobation on the patronage and indulgence which was lavished upon such a wretch as Dermody. Of his poetical productions, we know nothing more than is contained in these volumes; but they

they are sufficient to satisfy us that his talents were of an inferior description. He has considerable sweetness of versification, and a copious and easy flow of expression ; but we find little original in his conceptions: he is a great copyist ; and, where he does not give way to a vein of puerile parody, or vulgar mock heroic, seems generally contented with amplifying, in loose and declamatory language, the ideas which he borrows from our most popular authors. After all, it is by no means so difficult to write tolerable poetry, as the world appears to imagine ; nor is the merit of this kind of labour so great, in our apprehension, as to atone for the want of common decency, or to monopolize the charity on which virtuous misfortune has so much stronger a claim. There are quantities of poetry as good as most of Dermody's, which pass quietly to oblivion every six months, without ever being missed by the world ; and when his name ceases to be heard of, which will happen, we doubt not, in four or five years, in spite of the stir occasioned by his eccentricities, we rather think that the state of our poetical readers will be more gracious than that of the present generation. In short, we cannot help suspecting that it is more to our national vanity, and our taste for monsters of all descriptions, than to any tender sympathies for the sufferings of genius, that we should ascribe the profuse and unmerited bounty which was poured into the purse of this prodigy of verse and debauchery. For our own parts, we think it would have been quite as well for the world, and much better for himself, if he had been allowed to follow out his natural progress, from the house of correction to the gallows ; or, at any rate, if he had been left under the wholesome discipline of the serjeants and drummers in the ranks of Lord Granard's regiment of foot.

ART. XIV. *Paradis Perdu*. Traduit par Jacques De Lille, &c.  
Paris et Londres. 1805.

MR De LILLE, the most famous of living poets, has, in the decline of life, undertaken a translation of the most celebrated of English poems. The merits of *Paradise Lost*, indeed, are not confined to England alone ; they have been so universally felt and acknowledged throughout Europe, that many critics have gone the length of comparing the author with the most illustrious poets of antiquity ; and few have scrupled to place him on the same pedestal with the great Italian poets of the middle age.

In attempting to lay before the public our remarks on this translation, we are aware that we may appear to have undertaken a

task of great delicacy. Fortunately however, some of those circumstances, which at first sight seem to threaten us with the most formidable obstacles, on a nearer approach produce a very contrary effect. The established reputation of Milton considerably alleviates our labours. His excellences and his defects have been so frequently and so ably canvassed, and his merits as an epic poet have been so accurately ascertained, that it would be superfluous to attempt to add to the numerous criticisms on this subject that are already in the possession of the public. Mr De Lille's reputation, too, as a poet, is very generally understood. '*Multa virum meritis sustentat fama tropæis.*' The work, however, immediately under our consideration, differs materially from any that he has hitherto sent forth into the world, since it is in this that he has for the first time deserted his ordinary style of poetry, and has attempted to soar, on a loftier and more adventurous wing, into regions he had never penetrated before. It remains, therefore, for us to examine, how far he was qualified for this attempt, and how he has succeeded in the execution of it.

It is scarcely necessary, we trust, to say that we are actuated by no illiberal prejudice, when we state the style and character of French poetry to be among the greatest difficulties Mr De Lille had to encounter. Differing, as the French language does from our own, it is still the fair and honourable rival of it. Each has its characteristic excellences, each its characteristic defects; and, whatever may be our opinion of their comparative merits, it would be absurd to deny the excellence of that language, which, with the single exception of England, is more or less the language of polished society throughout all the countries of Europe. This general diffusion, indeed, may be partly owing to the extended power and political interest of the French nation; but it must in still greater part be attributed to its own intrinsic merit, and to its delicacy and perspicuity, which so peculiarly adapt it to the purposes of conversation and business. It is not with conversation or business, however, that we are now concerned; and we shall not be accused, we believe, of any national injustice to the poetical merits of the French, if we assert that it is not so well calculated for the loftier flights of poetry as the Spanish, the Italian, or the English. Much may be said, certainly, for the language of a Corneille, a Racine, and a Voltaire; and all that we seriously pretend to maintain is, that the style and character of French poetry is not only very different from the style and character of English poetry, but that it is peculiar to the nation to which it belongs. Neither Italy nor England, we admit, have ever produced an author exactly of the same calibre as Racine; and France, on the other hand, never has, and probably never will, produce

duce poets at all resembling Dante or Ariosto, Shakespeare or Milton.

The impediment, then, of his native language, was the first Mr De Lille had to struggle with; the next seems to grow out of this, and to be as it were a part of it, viz. the necessity of rhyme. No difficulty more serious can present itself to the translator of a work written in English blank verse, than to be obliged to terminate each couplet by a chime of sounds; and the style and character of Milton is, of all our poets except Shakespeare, the most abhorrent from this necessary appendage to French versification. We remarked in a former Number, that the manner of Thomson afforded certain facilities to a rhyming translator, beyond any other of our writers in blank verse. With Milton, however, the case is exactly the reverse;—his characteristic excellences—his characteristic defects, are most repugnant to it. The sublimity of his conceptions—the boldness of his metaphors—the strength and propriety of his expressions—the harmonious structure of his periods—and even his ostentatious parade of learning, all render it peculiarly difficult to reconcile him to the shackles of rhyme.

It only remains, then, to consider, whether there is any thing peculiar to Mr De Lille's style of versification, which would enable him to rise above the difficulties a French translation of *Paradise Lost* would naturally have to contend against. Mr De Lille has, it is true, a style of his own; and possibly may, hereafter, be regarded as the founder of a new school in French poetry. Unfortunately, however, for his present purpose, the genius and character of his school must be regarded as most opposite to that of the great author whom he has undertaken to copy. The genius of Mr De Lille would have harmonized better with Thomson or Cowper, with Goldsmith or Pope; he is most in his element, when he is describing flowers, or woods, or gardens—but he has rarely ventured into the higher walks of poetry: how then could he expect to soar on the sublime pinions of our Milton,—how

To sing of chaos and eternal night,  
Taught by the heavenly muse, to venture down  
The dark descent, and up to reascend,  
Though hard and rare—?’

The most exact translation we ever remember to have seen, is that of Tasso's *Aminta* by Jaraguay. We will merely cite a few lines, to shew what may be expected from a comparison of the whole work with the original.

‘ Conosco la ritrosa fanciullezza  
Qual tu sei, tal io fui : così portava  
La vita, e 'l volto, e così biondo il crine,



E così vermigliuzza havea la bocca,  
 E così mista col candor la Rosa.  
 Ne le guancie pienotte, e delicate  
 Era il mio sommo gusto (hor me n'avveggiò  
 Gusto di sciocca) sol tender le reti,  
 Et invescar le panie, et aguzzare  
 Il dardo aduna cote, e sniar l'orne  
 E 'l covil de le Fere: e, se talhora  
 Vedeà guattarmi da cupido Amante,  
 Chinava gli occhi, rustica, e selvaggia,  
 Piena di sdegno, e di vergogna, em 'era  
 Mal grata la mia gratia e dispiacente  
 Quanto di me piaceva altrui: pur come  
 Fosse mia colpa, e mia onta, e mio scorno  
 L'essen guardata amata e desiata.'

The translation is as follows.

' Conozco y a la piventud esquivà :  
 Asi qual eres tu', tambien yo he sido,  
 Asi tambien gocè de gentileza  
 De rostro hermoso, y de cabello rubio :  
 Asi tuve qual tu los labios roxos  
 Y en mis llenas nexillas delicadas  
 Mezclada asi con el jazmin la Rosa :  
 Acuerdome, que solo era mi gusto  
 (Que simple gusto) componer las redes  
 Armar con liga la una y otra mata,  
 Dar nuevos filos en la pinedra al dardo,  
 Y accechar de las fieras en el bosque  
 La cueva y huellas : y si vez alguna  
 Eca mi rada de lascivo Amante  
 Volvia la vista rustica y salvage  
 Al suelo con vergüenza desdenosa  
 Desplaciendome entonces la hermosura  
 Tanto como á los otros agradata  
 Qual si fuera mi culpa ó mi deshonra  
 El ser vista guerida y deseada.'

We are ready to allow that Jaraguay had none of the disadvantages to combat that Mr De Lille experienced in his translation of *Paradise Lost*. The Spanish language, far from being opposite to the Italian, is, as it were, its twin sister, and in some instances so nearly resembles it, as to approach almost to an exact similarity :—the style and metre of Tasso were equally favourable to him.

To take, however, an instance from a very careless work, and one which, upon the whole, may be considered as ill executed, we mean Dryden's translation of the *Satires of Juvenal*, we shall still find passages here and there glittering like scattered gems,  
 which

which shew how well the translator had imbibed the spirit of his original, and how admirably calculated his language and his geni-  
 uis were for the task he had undertaken.

‘ Nos animorum

Impulsu, et cæcâ magnâque cupidine ducti,  
 Conjugium petimus—partumque uxoris—at illis  
 Notum quid pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor—  
 Ut tam et poscas aliquid, voveasque facellis  
 Extâ, et candiduli divina tomacula porci :  
 Fortem posce animûm, et mortis terrore carentem :  
 Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat  
 Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores  
 Nesciat irasci—cupiat nihil—et potiores  
 Herculis ærumnas credat, sævosque labores  
 Et Venere, et cænis et plumis Sardanapuli—  
 We blindly, by our headstrong passions led,  
 Are hot for action, and desire to wed—  
 Then wish for heirs,—but to the gods alone  
 Our future offspring and our wives are known—  
 Th’ audacious strumpet, and ungracious son.

Yet not to rob the priests of pious gain ;  
 That altars be not wholly built in vain,  
 Forgive the gods the rest—and stand confined  
 To health of body, and content of mind ;  
 A soul that can securely death defy,  
 And count it nature’s privilege to die,  
 Serene and manly—hardened to sustain  
 The load of life, and exercised in pain ;  
 Guiltless of hate, and proof against desire ;  
 That all things weighs, and nothing can admire ;  
 That dares prefer the toils of Hercules,  
 To dalliance, banquets, and inglorious ease.’

This passage would give an English reader, though totally un-  
 acquainted with Latin, an exact idea of the strength and energy  
 of Juvenal’s style : but we have looked in vain throughout Mr  
 De Lille’s translation of *Paradise Lost*, for a single passage which  
 might serve to give a Frenchman an idea of Milton :—that this  
 total failure must be owing, either to the language, or to the  
 translator, or partly to both, is clear from the different shape our  
 great poet assumes when translated into other languages. The  
 Italian version of Padre Rolli, defective as it is on the whole, is  
 in many parts very happily executed. What, for example, can  
 be more accurate than the following passage ?

‘ O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,’ &c.

down to ‘ in vain,’ Book V. line 28.

O solo in cui tutti ‘i pensier miei trovano  
 La lor tranquillità, mia gloria, e mia

Perfezzion,

Perfezzion, lieta il tuo volto io miro  
 E il ritornato bel mattin : chè in notte,  
 (Notte tal, fino a questa, ancor passata  
 Io non avea) sognai—se pur sognai  
 Non già di te, come sovente io soglio  
 Non già dell' opre del passato giorno  
 O delle dissegnate al di' seguenti  
 Ma d'offesa e disturbo : alla mia mente  
 Ignoti fino a tal torbida notte  
 Giusto presso all' arecchio, udir mi parve,  
 Uno che con gentil voce m' invita  
 A passeggiar : che fossi tu, pensai.  
 Ei disse : Eva, perché dormi ? or é il tempo  
 E piacevole e fresco, e taciturno,  
 Eccetto sol dove il silenzio cede  
 Al dolce augello che di notte canta  
 E che svegliato or modela su i rami  
 La dulcissime sue note amorose.  
 Pieno nell' orbe suo regna or la luna  
 E con lume più grato in mostra espone  
 Ombreggiata la faccia delle cose,  
 Ma en van, se non si mira, <sup>3</sup> &c.

From this, as well as from another extract which we may have occasion to cite in the sequel, an Italian might know how to feel and appreciate some of the characteristic excellences of Milton. But in the case before us, the original fabric has been so completely dissolved, that no vestige of its magnificence remains, unless Mr De Lille pretends, like the pedant in Hierocles, to produce a brick as a specimen of the house. The ideas are throughout enfeebled and expanded ; whole passages are omitted—others are entirely changed ; and some of the best lines are those which the translator has interpolated, either to complete his couplets, or to shew the fertility of his invention. Under the latter description, we should class, '*Mes printemps sont sans graces et mes étés sans roses*,' introduced into Milton's description of his blindness ; and '*Trempoit ses pieds brillans dans des flots de rosée*,' added to the approach of morning in the opening of the fourth book. Many other additions of this sort might be cited. But *Paradise Lost* is too stately for the frippery of these little ornaments : they are too light and trifling, ever to harmonize with the original grandeur of the edifice ; and are more fitted for that style of versification in which Mr De Lille has heretofore distinguished himself, than for epic poetry. The whole work, indeed, appears to have been executed in great haste, and with much carelessness ; at least, it is to this circumstance alone that we can attribute the misapprehension of several passages, which, from Mr

De

De Lille's accurate knowledge of the English language, we should not have expected of him.

We shall now proceed to cite several extracts, as well from the translation, as from the original work. In selecting these, our chief object will be to choose such as will furnish specimens of each variety of Milton's style, as, by this method, we can best appeal to the unbiassed judgment of our readers as to the real merits of this work. We will begin with the answer of Satan to Beelzebub.

- ' Fall'n Cherub ! to be weak is miserable  
Doing or suffering : but of this be sure,  
To do ought good, never will be our task,  
But ever to do ill our sole delight,  
As being the contrary to his high will  
Whom we resist.'
- ' *Foibles guerriers, jadis l'honneur des chérubins,  
Travailler ou souffrir, quels que soient nos destins !  
Il est dur, dit Satan, de sentir sa faiblesse.  
Que nous veut de ce Dieu la fureur vengeresse ?  
Je ne fais ; mais, crois-moi, désormais aucun bien  
N'est plus fait pour ton cœur, n'est plus fait pour le mien.  
Eh bien, pour affliger ce monarque suprême,  
Aimons ce qu'il abhorre, abhorrons ce qu'il aime.*' p. 131-2.

Here the reader will perceive that Mr de Lille has had recourse to a whole line to render the two words, ' Fall'n Cherub ;' and not only this, but we apprehend he has completely perverted the sense of the original, by making him address his warriors generally ; whereas he is distinctly stated to be only talking to his ' nearest mate ;' and shortly afterwards, we are informed that all the rest of the rebellious crew ' lay entranced—on the burning lake.' We are at a loss to account for the introduction of the fourth line. To make amends, however, for this unnecessary addition, he shortly afterwards compresses

- ' But see the angry victor hath recalled  
His ministers of vengeance, and pursuit  
Back to the gates of heaven'—

into one energetic line,

- ' Mais vois notre vainqueur rappelle son armée.'

This speech ended, Milton proceeds—

- Thus, Satan talking to his nearest mate,  
With head uplift above the waves, and eyes  
That sparkling blaz'd : his other parts besides,  
Prone on the flood, extending long and large,  
Lay floating many a rood.'—

- ' Tel de son compagnon dans les flammes plongé  
Satan aiguillonoit le cœur découragé,

Sur la vague brûlante il eleve sa tête ;  
 Ses regards sont l'éclair et sa voix la tempête.  
 Sur la face des eaux, du superbe guerrier  
 S'avance et s'étargit l'immense bouclier ;

Vingt flades sont couverts de sa flottante masse.' p. 135.

Here our translator gives more decided symptoms of his great passion for interpolation. Unfortunately, however, his invention has hurried him on into a direct contradiction to the sense of his original. The motion of his shield upon the face of the lake, and his voice sounding like a tempest, are at all events premature, since we are told a few lines afterwards,

' So, stretch'd out huge in length, th' arch fiend lay,  
 Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence  
 Had ris'n,' &c.

His head, indeed, is described as ' uplift above the flood,' and ' his eyes to have blazed sparkling ;' but the first mention of his shield was reserved for another occasion, the effect of which is considerably diminished by this anachronism (if we may be allowed the expression) of Mr de Lille. The same may be observed of his addressing his nearest mate with a voice like a tempest ; since we know, that it was not till he reached the shore of the burning lake, that, in order to rouse his associates,

' He called so loud, that all the hollow deep  
 Of hell resounded.'——

But to proceed——

' He scarce had spoke, when the superior fiend  
 Was moving toward the shore ; his ponderous shield,  
 Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,  
 Behind him cast ; the broad circumference  
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb  
 Through optic glass the Tuscan artist sees  
 At evening from the top of Fesolè,  
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,  
 Rivers or mountains, in her spotty globe.'

' A peine il a parlé, son chef audacieux  
 S'avance vers le lac dans un profond silence.  
 Son large dos soutient un bouclier immense,  
 Orbe prodigieux dont le vaste contour  
 Semble l'astre des nuits, quand, du haut d'une tour  
 Ou du sommet des monts, l'œil, aidé par le verre,  
 S'étonne d'y trouver l'image de la terre,  
 Ses gouffres, ses rochers, ses fleuves, ses volcans,  
 Qu'un long tube montrait au Newton des Toscans.' p. 139.

Our readers will perceive how completely the force and propriety of this magnificent comparison of Satan's shield to the moon are lost in this translation. Every thing that is particular in the

the one is generalized in the other. The periphrasis by which the moon is expressed, sadly enfeebles the idea. The omission of the evening is a great defect; and the fine locality of Valdarno and the top of Fesolè, are but ill supplied by the '*haut d'un tour où du sommet des monts.*' Milton makes the whole of the comparison tend to one point, that is, the similarity between the orb of the moon and the orb of Satan's shield; whereas the translator loses himself amid the gulphs, rocks, rivers and volcanoes, which, as he happily expresses it, *a long tube shews to the Newton of the Tuscans.* Indignant as we must feel at the metempsychosis to which this splendid passage has been condemned, we cannot help smiling at the absurd anachronism of making Milton introduce the name of Newton, who did not begin to flourish till some years after the publication of his poem. Our readers all remember the famous passage,

' Thus far these beyond  
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd  
Their dread commander : He, above the rest  
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,  
Stood like a tower,' &c. Book I. l. 586.

This is translated by Mr De Lille as follows.

' Tous ces pouvoirs mortels que font-ils, comparés  
A ces rivaux du ciel contre lui conjurés ?  
Au-dessus de leur foule immense, mais docile,  
Satan, comme une tour, élève un front tranquille ;  
Lui seul, ainsi qu'en force il les passe en grandeur :  
Son front, où s'entrevoit son antique splendeur,  
D'ombres et de lumière offre un confus mélange ;  
Et si c'est un débris, c'est celui d'un archange.  
Qui, lumineux encor, n'est plus éblouissant  
Vers l'horizon obscur tel le soleil naissant  
Jette à peine, au milieu des vapeurs nébuleuses,  
De timides rayons et des lueurs douteuses ;  
Ou tel, lorsque sa sœur offusque ses clartés,  
Pâle, et portant le trouble aux rois épouvantés,  
Il épanche à regret une triste lumière,  
Des défaits fameux sinistre avant-courrière ;  
Mais, à travers la nuit qui nous glace d'effroi,  
Tous les astres encor reconnoissent leur roi.  
Tel se montre Satan ; tel son éclat céleste,  
Tout éclipsé qu'il est, éclipe tout le reste.  
Foudroyé, mais debout, triste et majestueux,  
Sur son front, que du ciel ont sillonné les feux,  
Du tonnerre vengeur on voit encor les traces :  
La douleur dans ses traits a gravé ses disgrâces ;  
Mais dans son air pensif perce, à travers son deuil,  
Le courroux révolté, l'opiniâtre orgueil.

Cependant

Cependant le remords est dans son œil farouche ;  
 La vengeance l'aigrit, le repentir le touche ;  
 Il voit avec douleur tous ces infortunés,  
 Innombrables esprits dans sa chute entraînés,  
 Déshérités du ciel, perdus dans ces abîmes,  
 Compagnons de sa faute, ou plutôt ses victimes,  
 Si brillans autrefois, éclipsés aujourd'hui,  
 Malheureux à jamais, et malheureux par lui,  
 Ainsi que ses forfaits partageant sa misère ;  
 Et cependant, du ciel défiant la colère,  
 Leur malheur généreux se voue à son malheur ;  
 Leurs honneurs sont perdus, mais non pas leur valeur :  
 Tels le chêne des bois et le pin des collines,  
 Dont la foudre en éclats disperse les ruines,  
 D'une riche verdure autrefois habillés,  
 Bravent encor le ciel de leurs fronts dépouillés. ' p. 156-8.

To express the two first lines of this passage, Mr De Lille has had recourse to a note of interrogation, one of his favourite methods of varying from the original. The two French lines literally translated would stand thus: *All these mortal powers, what are they, compared to those rivals of heaven conspired against it?* In which notable version he has omitted that, which we apprehend was Milton's leading idea in this passage; for he intends, not merely to declare that all the most powerful armies that ever were collected or imagined, were not to be compared with this, (evidently having the Homeric idea in view, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἰσσοῖσι πᾶν ὅσσοι ἡλικίᾳτες Ἀχαιοί*); but he goes a step farther, and asserts, that this army, powerful and gigantic as it was,

‘ ————— yet observed  
 Their dread commander. ’

The whole enumeration is intended to prepare our minds for the grand portrait he is about to delineate of Satan. This idea Mr De Lille has wholly omitted in its proper place, probably because he thought he had discovered one happy word (*docile*), which would express the whole of it in another sentence, and which would have the additional advantage of rhyming with the expression which he had selected for the conclusion of the subsequent line. Nor can it be denied, but that if ‘*docile*’ is forcible enough to express ‘yet observed their dread commander,’ ‘*front tranquille*’ will serve quite as well to give his countrymen an adequate idea of—

‘ He above the rest, in shape and gesture  
 Proudly eminent. ’

In the comparison of Satan with the Sun, our translator seems again, as in the instance cited above, to have lost sight of the point of comparison, in order to point out how the stars twinkle through a night which *freezes us with fright, and acknowledge them*

*them shining when his sister darkens his rays.* Milton's idea, if we mistake not, is to shew, that the lustre of Satan, faded as it was, 'shone above the rest.' This, Mr De Lille seems to have discovered afterwards; and adds,

'Tel se montre Satan; tel son éclat celeste  
Tout éclipsé qu'il est, eclipse tout le reste.'

These are good lines, but they are not Miltonic. 'Foudroyé mais debout,' is ridiculous; and 'Le repentir le touche,' is a most ill-placed aberration from the meaning of the original. From this we can only conjecture, that our translator has here, as in another instance, mistaken the character of the person who is the object of this description. Such as Satan is formed in the beginning of this poem, such he is preserved until the end of it. No one deviation from the leading features of his character occurs. It is represented throughout as a mixture of great vices and great talents—as of one endowed with qualities, which, if directed by proper means, to proper objects, would be called great virtues. Ever forgetful of himself—ever mindful of his associates, he is ready, on every occasion, to expose himself for their welfare. If a perilous journey is to be undertaken—if the barriers of hell are to be surpassed; neither the difficulties that embarrass the one, nor the phantoms that encircle the other, can appal him: nor does he ever appear to be dejected by ill success. The sensation, therefore, he experiences at this moment, when he is on the point of rallying his scattered forces, and endeavouring to inspire into them his own soul, resembles, in nothing, that attributed to him by Mr De Lille; it is a mixt feeling of indignation and vexation, to behold 'the fellows of his crime, the followers rather,' &c. 'for his fault amerc'd of heaven.' Inflexible of purpose, he is alike incapable of fear and of repentance: and though he may be abashed, as he afterwards is, in the process of this story, by the superior loveliness of virtue—though he may be overawed, as he more than once is, by the controul of a superior agent; still he will only lament the loss of virtue, because it prevents him from executing an evil purpose; and he is only overawed by a superior power, from his total inability to resist it. Neither the feelings of repentance, as introduced here, nor the sentiment expressed by the word 'effroi,' in the beginning of this book, form any one of the ingredients of the character as pourtrayed in the original.

Padre Rolli has been more successful in his version of this sublime passage.

'Cotanto eran Costor superiori  
Al paragon d'ogni mortal prodezza  
E attenti pur tutti osservando stanno  
Del lor tremendo comandante i cenni.—



Ei su'l resto in statura e in portamento  
 Torreggiava superbo : ancor sua forma  
 Perduto non avea tutto il nativo  
 Scintillante fulgore, e comparia  
 Nulla men che un arcangel rovinato  
 E che di gloria un' oscurato eccesso.'

The whole of this is well executed. Nothing indeed in the way of translation can be happier than—

' Ei su'l resto in statura e in portamento  
 Torreggiava superbo.'

The concluding simile of the passage approaches infinitely nearer the original than Mr De Lille.

' Così allor che fiamma  
 Celeste devasto d'una foresta  
 Le quercie, o gli alti montuosi Pini,  
 Benchè framati, et aridi ; pur stanno  
 Su l'arso suolo Maestrogli i Tronchi.'

But to return to Mr De Lille. We will make several extracts, and leave them to the comments of our readers.

In Book IV. l. 32. Milton says,

' O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,  
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god  
 Of this new world ; at whose sight all the stars  
 Hide their diminish'd heads ; to thee I call,  
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,  
 O sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,  
 That bring to my remembrance from what state  
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere ;  
 Till pride, and worse ambition, threw me down,  
 Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless King.'

Here is M. De Lille's translation.

' Globe resplendissant, majestueux flambeau,  
 Toi qui sembles le dieu de ce monde nouveau,  
 Toi dont le seul aspect fait pâlir les étoiles,  
 Et commande à la nuit de replier ses voiles,  
 Bienfait de mon tyran, chef-d'œuvre de ton roi,  
 Toi qui charmes le monde et n'affliges que moi,  
 Soleil, que je te hais ! et combien ta lumière  
 Réveille les regrets de ma splendeur première !  
 Hélas ! sans ma révolte, assis au haut des cieux,  
 Un seul de mes rayons eût éclipsé tes feux ;  
 Et, sur mon trône d'or, presque égal à Dieu même,  
 J'aurois vu sous mes pieds ton brillant diadème.  
 Je suis tombé, l'orgueil m'a plongé dans les fers,  
 Il m'a fermé les cieux et creusé les enfers.' p. 13. 14.

Without troubling our readers with any remarks on this passage,

we shall proceed to lay before them the following additional specimens.

' O hell ! what do mine eyes with grief behold !  
 Into our room of blifs thus high advanc'd  
 Creatures of other mould, earth born perhaps,  
 Not spirits, yet to heav'nly spirits bright  
 Little inferior ; whom my thoughts pursue  
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines  
 In them divine refemblance, and fuch grace  
 The hand that form'd them on their fhape hath pour'd.' IV. 357.

' Puiffances de l'enfer, voilà donc cette race  
 A qui notre opprefleur a promis notre place !  
 O rage ! ils font heureux, et nous fommes profcrits !  
 Plus je les confidère, et plus je fuis furpris.  
 Affemblage nouveau de lumière et de fange,  
 Voifins de la matière, ils approchent de l'ange  
 Moi-même, en les voyant fi femblables à nous,  
 Je fens que ma pitié balance mon courroux,  
 Tant fur eux l'Eternel a répandu de grâce. ' p. 35.

' Now came ftill evening on, and twilight grey  
 Had in her fober livery all things clad ;  
 Silence accompanied ; for beaft and bird  
 They to their graffy couch, thefe to their nefts  
 Were flunk ; all but the wakeful nightingale ;  
 She all night long her amorous defcant fung :  
 Silence was pleas'd ; now glow'd the firmament  
 With living fapphires : Hefperus, that led  
 The ftarry hoit, rode brighteft, till the moon,  
 Rifing in clouded majefty, at length  
 Apparent queen, unveil'd her peerlefs light,  
 And o'er the dark her filver mantle threw. ' IV. 598.

' Mais enfin *la nuit vient*, et le peuple des fleurs  
 A du foir par degrés revêtu les couleurs ;  
 Le fîlence la fuit ; les troupeaux s'affoupiffent ;  
 Tous les oifeaux muets dans leurs nids fe tapiffent ;  
 Tous, hors le roffignol, qui, d'un ton amoureux,  
 Répète *dans la nuit* fes refrains douloureux :  
 Il chante, l'air répond, et le fîlence écoute.  
 Cependant de faphirs les cieux peignent leur voûte ;  
 Précurfeur radieux des aftres de la nuit,  
 Le brillant Hefpérus en pompe les conduit.  
 Au milieu du repos, de l'ombre et du fîlence,  
 D'un air majeftrueux leur reine enfin s'avance ;  
 Et, verfant fur le monde une tendre clarté,  
 De fon trône d'azur jette un voile argenté. ' p. 50.

The beautiful lines beginning 'Hail, wedded love—mysterious law,' &c. are thus translated.

' Et toi, source de biens, salut, hymen sacré,  
Par Dieu même permis, par Dieu même inspiré !  
*Ah ! ceux dont la vertu renonce à tes délices*  
*Font le plus généreux de tous les sacrifices !*  
Salut, premier berceau de la société,  
De ces premiers époux seule propriété !  
Quand la brute avec eux partageoit leur domaine,  
Pour eux Dieu réserva ton innocente chaîne :  
*Le roi des animaux laisse à leur vague amour,*  
Et leur flamme adultère, et leur penchant d'un jour.  
Toi, ta sainte union seule est durable et pure,  
Et la raison l'approuve ainsi que la nature :  
De toi viennent ces nœuds et ces rapports chéris  
Et de frère et de sœur, et de père et de fils ;  
Ces nœuds sont à la fois les richesses publiques,  
Et de l'homme privé les douceurs domestiques.  
Pour toi le chaste amour choisit ses flèches d'or ;  
Là ses ailes de pourpre arrêtent leur effor ;  
Tu nourris son flambeau ; ta vertueuse flamme  
N'est point l'éclair des sens, mais le doux feu de l'ame.  
Dans la profane orgie et le vain bruit des cours  
Je n'irai point chercher les pudiques amours ;  
*On ne les trouve point dans la veille galante*  
De ces amans transis dont la lyre dolente,  
Confiant leurs chagrins aux fraîches nuits d'été,  
Chante sous ses balcons l'orgueilleuse beauté.  
*Loin de toi des Phrynés les vénales caresses,*  
*Leurs faveurs sans amour, leurs baisers sans tendresses,*  
*Vil tribut du hasard, ivresse du moment !*

' Tels n'étoient point les nœuds de ce couple charmant.' 59. 60.

We do not pretend to dive into the motive which led to the interpolation of the thought contained in these lines,

' Ah, ceux dont la vertu renonce à tes délices

Font le plus généreux de tous les sacrifices ! '

but of this we are sure, that those to whom they are addressed are solely indebted to Mr de Lille for a compliment that Milton certainly never intended to favour them with. It is observable, that though, in the passage above cited, twenty lines have been swelled into thirty in the translation, still five whole lines, viz. from 'Far be it,' to 'Patriarchs and,' are entirely omitted.

In the following passages, the character of the original is quite obliterated.

' His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd  
Absolute rule ; and hyacinthine locks

Round

Round from his parted forehead manly hung  
 Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders broad. '  
 Sur son front mâle et fier ses cheveux partagés  
*Voilent son cou d'albâtre ; et leurs flots négligés,*  
 Sans passer son épaule, en grappes ondoyantes  
 Rouloient le jais brillant de leurs touffes pendantes. ' p. 31.

Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
 To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge  
 Of others who approve not to transgress  
 By thy example, but have power and right  
 To question thy bold entrance on this place ;  
 Employ'd it seems to violate sleep, and those  
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in blifs? ' IV. 877.

Esclave révolté, parle, pourquoi viens-tu  
*Du souffle impur du vice infecter la vertu ?*  
 Qu'a de commun Satan avec des cœurs fidèles ?  
 Nul de nous n'a trempé dans tes complots rebelles ;  
 Pourquoi donc, échappé de tes cachots affreux,  
 As-tu de ta presence affligé ces beaux lieux ? ' p. 66.

Here we search in vain for a semblance of the original. Nor after this can we be astonished at his introducing such expressions as *vil fugitif, brigand insidieux*, into the mouth of Gabriel, and the angels his associates, or at his translating ' Proud liminary cherub ' *enfant audacieux*,

' Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,  
 Proud liminary cherub, but ere then  
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel  
 From my prevailing arm, though heaven's King  
 Ride on thy wings, and thou, with thy compeers,  
 Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels  
 In progress through the road of heav'n star-pav'd. ' IV. 570.  
 Qui ? toi ! toi ! me saisir, toi me charger d'entraves,  
 Audacieux enfant ! Sais-tu bien qui tu braves ?  
 Va, je t'apprête un coup plus pesant que mes fers,  
 Que ces portes d'airain, barrières des enfers ;  
 C'est pour toi désormais que sont faits les supplices.  
 Oui, quand ton Dieu lui-même, assemblant ses milices,  
 Sur nous feroit gronder son foudre menaçant,  
 Quand tous vous seriez joints à ce Dieu si puissant,  
 Vous qui, portant son joug, esclaves fiers de l'être,  
 En pompe sur son char promenez votre maître,  
 Tremblez.——' p. 71.

We give the following examples without any commentary.

' To whom the virgin majesty of Eve,  
 As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,  
 With sweet austere composure thus reply'd. '

- A ces mots, sa compagne aussi chaste que pure,  
S'affligeant d'un soupçon dont sa gloire murmure,  
Lui répond d'un air triste ensemble et gracieux. '
- So saying, her rash hand in evil hour  
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she ate ;  
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat,  
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe  
That all was lost. — ' IX. 780.
- Elle dit ; et soudain, O forfait lamentable,  
Sur le fruit tentateur porte une main coupable,  
Le saisit, le devore ; à peine il est cueilli,  
D'épouvante et d'horreur la terre a tressailli ;  
La nature en repent la blessure profonde,  
Et marque par son deuil la ruine du monde. '
- On th' other side, Adam, soon as he heard  
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,  
Astonied stood, and blank, while horror chill  
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd ;  
From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve  
Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed. ' IX. 887.
- Mais que devient Adam à ce recit funeste ?  
De sa force mourante il cherche en vain le reste,  
D'horreur, en l'écoutant, son front s'est hérissé,  
Tout son corps en frissonne, et son sang est glacé ;  
Sa défaillante main laisse tomber les roses,  
Que pour un sort plus doux le matin vit écloses ;  
La couronne de myrte, et les festons fleuris,  
Brillant comme elle, hélas ! et comme elle flétris. '
- Love not the heav'nly spirits, and how their love  
Express they ? ' VIII. 615.
- Aimez-vous dans les cieux ? et quels sont vos amours,  
Est-ce un tendre regard, ou de tendre discours,  
Vous lancez-vous de loin vos amoureuses flammes ? '

Really, if it were not Mr De Lille that we were criticising, we should be tempted to compare the person who could so translate, to a certain Faret, who

—poursuivant Moïse au travers des déserts,

Court avec Pharaon se noyer dans les mers.

Our readers have probably been able to collect from the extracts we have already made, proof sufficient both of the redundancies and deficiencies of this translation. We will, however, now direct their attention to some more particular specimens of both. To begin with the redundancies.

- But rather to tell how, if art could tell,  
How from the sapphire fount the crisped brooks,  
Rolling on orient pearls and sands of gold,

With

With mazy error, under verdant shades,  
Ran nectar,' &c. IV. 296.

The twelve beautiful lines which complete this picture are extended into thirty.

' —o'er which the mantling vine  
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps  
Luxuriant——'  
' Sur eux rampe le lierre, ou montant avec grâce  
De ses bras tortueux la vigne les embrasse,  
Et le long de leur voûte élève dans les airs  
Et ses grappes de pourpre et ses feuillages verts.' p. 28.

To quote more instances of redundancy would be tedious. We will now produce a few specimens of the passages in which the sense of the original is either remarkably abridged, or wholly omitted.

Book IV. line 997.

' While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright  
Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns  
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round  
With ported spears——'

is thus rendered by only two lines,

' Il dit : la rage enflamme leurs regards,  
Satan est investi d'une forêt de dards.'

And shortly afterwards, line 985.

' —On th' other side, Satan alarm'd,  
Collecting all his might, dilated stood,  
Like Teneriffe or Atlas unremov'd :  
His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest  
Sat horror plum'd ; nor wanted in his grasp  
What seem'd both spear and shield——'

is again expressed by two lines.

' Pareil au mont Athos, terrible, inébranlable,  
L'affreux Satan prepare un choc épouvantable.'

Book IV. line 272.

' ——nor that sweet grove  
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspir'd  
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise  
Of Eden strive ; nor that Nyseian isle  
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,  
Whom Gentiles Ammon call, and Lybian Jove,  
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son  
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye.'  
Au bosquet de Daphné que vient baigner l'Oronte,  
Aux eaux de Castalie Eden auroit fait honte ;  
Ces bocages heureux qu'arrose le Triton,  
Ces coteaux fortunés où Jupiter, dit-on,

Cacha Bacchus enfant et la chèvre Amalthée,  
N'avoient rien de si beau dans leur île enchantée.' p. 29.

Book V. line 246.

' So spake the Eternal Father, and fulfill'd  
All justice : nor delay'd the winged saint  
After his charge receiv'd ; but from among  
Thousand celestial ardors, where he stood  
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, upspringing light  
Flew through the midst of heav'n : the angelic choirs  
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way  
Through all th' empyreal road ; till at the gate  
Of heaven arriv'd—'

' Tel est l'arrêt de Dieu ; Raphaël à ces mots  
S'incline avec respect, et déployant ses ailes  
Qui défendoient ses yeux des splendeurs éternelles,  
Fend la presse qui s'ouvre, arrive en un instant  
À la porte du ciel.' p. 98.

However little we had expected Mr De Lille to emulate the sublimer parts of Milton, we had flattered ourselves that he would at least have been successful in his descriptions of the Garden of Eden, and of the manners and characters of our first parents before their fall. Our disappointment, therefore, was proportionate to our regret, at discovering that even here he had failed as completely as in any other part of the poem.

The chaste correctness of Milton's taste led him to characterize Adam and Eve by every gesture and every idea that might be conceived suitable to a state of perfect innocence. Even in his description of Eve's beauty and accomplishments, he has never for an instant allowed us to forget who she was, and where she was placed. If he has to attribute to her the fervour or the profession of love, he does it without artifice or extravagance : if he is to portray her personal charms, he does not suffer his imagination to be led astray by the romantic ideas that prevail among the writers of the age of chivalry, or by the more voluptuous descriptions that are to be met with in the great poets of the ancient world. He never for an instant forgets that his heroine was the heroine of Paradise.

But under the metamorphosing wand of Mr De Lille every thing is changed. The discourses of Adam and Eve are embellished by all the frippery of French gallantry ; and they hand one another up and down the Garden of Eden after the fashion of two sprightly lovers promenading in the Champs Elysées. Whatever they do, it is '*en se donnant la main.*' Their speeches are frequently followed by '*amorous pauses.*' We have more than

once, ' *À ce discours succède un amoureux silence.*'

We read of ' *des folâtres propos—les doux embrassements—prix des caresses perdues—leçons doucement suspendues.* '

——' *sur sa bouche aimable*

Cueillir un miel plus doux que celui des discours, '

And who would recognize ' the virgin majesty of Eve ' in such expressions as ' *sés regards chastes et voluptueux* '—' *son aimable fierté* ; ' or in the following lines ?

' *Ea volupté, l'amour, l'essaim riant des grâces,*

*Composent son cortège et volent sur ses traces.* '

At every line, too, we find Adam making use of such endearing terms, as ' *Un autre moi-même,* '—' *Ma brillante conquête,* '—' *Ma plus chère moitié,* '—' *Doux repos de mon cœur,* '—' *Charme de mon cœur,* ' &c. Even the devil himself, when he is enumerating the enjoyments of Adam, is made to exclaim, like an amorous Marquis of the old French comedy, ' *Et sa femme est ravissante !* ' The only reason we can devise for the embellishment of the original, by the introduction of these and other similar expressions, is that which Mr de Lille himself has given us in another place, as an excuse for having interpolated so much into the description of the repast set before the archangel Raphael by Adam and Eve; upon which occasion he informs us he thought it necessary to interpose, in order *d'en enrichir les détails, et d'en fortifier les couleurs.*

We think our readers will have some difficulty in discovering from what part of the original the following lines are translated.

' *Au milieu du travail il (Dieu) permet quelquefois*

*Que ma main se repose un moment dans le tienne,*

*Que ta bouche en passant vient affleurer la mienne,*

*Qu'un champêtre repas, nous rende la vigueur,*

*Par de tendres discours, doux aliment du cœur ;*

*D'un pénible exercice il permet qu'on respire,*

*Qu'on s'adresse un regard, qu'on s'envoie un soupir.* '

Our translator, in his criticisms on the ninth book, has thought proper to enter into a long defence of Ariosto against Milton, who, he says, in the commencement of this book, ' *Oublie le ton d'Epopée pour celui de satire.* ' We apprehend that no attack against Ariosto was intended. We cannot but think that Milton, who, on all occasions, delights in making an ostentatious display of his learning, merely intended here to shew his intimate acquaintance with all the pomp and circumstance of chivalry, and to display it in a manner that might demonstrate, that had he written on that theme, he could entirely have entered into the spirit of it. For the same reason, Horace, when he professes himself incapable of writing an epic poem, rises above his ordinary style and language, and breaks out into these verses, which shew him to have been at least equal to more exalted flights.

' Neque



' Neque enim quivis horrentia pilis  
 Agmina, nec fractâ pereuntes cuspide Gallos,  
 Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi.'

Milton had not only drunk deep of the pure streams of Italy, but he owed much to the writings of chivalry. Surely, Mr de Lille must be aware that he hesitated long whether he should choose the death of Arthur, or the fall of man, for the subject of his poem. This we may collect as well from several passages in his prose works, as from his epistle to the celebrated Marquis of Villa.

' Si quando indigenas revocabo in prælia reges,  
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem.'  
 And again, in the *Epithalamium Damonis*;  
 ' Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes  
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
 Brennumque Arvigarumque duces, priscumque Belinum, &c.  
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen,' &c.

And even when his choice was made—inspired as his genius was with the sublimity of the prophetic writings, impregnated (if we may be allowed the expression) as it was with the greatest store of classical learning ever possessed by man—still he loses no opportunity of recurring to his favourite themes; and it is always with delight and pleasure that he alludes to stories

——' of Uther's son

Begirt with British and Armoric knights.'——

If the limits of our work would admit of such a digression, it would be matter of curious speculation to point out many of the expressions, and much of the imagery, that Milton has borrowed from books of romance and chivalry. All traces of these, however, are completely lost in the French translation; much more so indeed than those allusions which he adopted from the great Italian poets who more immediately preceded him, as well as from those ancient writers whose compositions have been the delight and admiration of all ages. These allusions (for we meet with them in every page, and so closely interwoven are they with Milton's own thoughts and expressions, that it is frequently difficult to discriminate between them) have necessarily made their way into Mr De Lille's translation, but under so languid and enfeebled a form, that a French reader will hardly recognize any vestige of their pristine strength and vigour. Thus, for instance, in the First Book, when he makes mention of Typhon,

———' whom the den

By ancient Tarsus held,'

it is obvious that he has in view the following passage in Pindar.

τὸν πόσι  
Κίλικιον θρέψεν πολυ-  
τυμον ἄλτρον.

But how would this appear so from Mr De Lille ?

— ‘ Ces vastes Typhons,

Que Tarfe renfermoit dans ses antres profonds. ’

And again in Homer.

ἥδε ἐγλασσε

χείλῃσιν ὕδη μέλιων ἐπ’ ὀφρυσιν ευρυῖν ἰαυδῆ,

probably furnished the idea for

‘ Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despair. ’

What trace of this in

‘ La terreur dans le foin, l’orgueil dans sa bouche ? ’

Danthes ‘ L’alpestra monte, ond’ è tronco Peloro. ’

Milton. ‘ Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter’d-side  
Of thundering Etna. ’

De Lille. ‘ Un débris de *Vesuve*, un éclat de Pelore. ’

Homer. *Καλὴ ὑπὸ Πλάτανισίῳ.*

Milton. ‘ Under a platan. ’

De Lille. ‘ Sous un platan sombre. ’

Tasso. ‘ Quasi in quel punto mille spade ardento  
Furon veduti fiammeggiar insieme. ’

Milton. ‘ Out flew

Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh  
Of mighty cherubim—the sudden blaze -  
Far round illumin’d hell. ’ —

De Lille. ‘ A peine il a parlé, jusqu’au fond des enfers,  
Les glaives flamboyans font jaillir mille éclairs. ’

We will not trouble our readers, by enumerating the several passages in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Æneid*, which Milton probably had in view when he composed the following lines ; they are so obvious, that they must present themselves immediately to every one’s recollection.

Milton. ‘ Thus saying, from her husband’s hand her hand  
Soft she withdrew, and like a wood-nymph light,  
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia’s train,  
Betook her to the groves ; but Delia’s self  
In gait surpass’d, and goddess-like deport ;  
Though not, as she, with bow and quiver arm’d,  
But with such gard’ning tools as art yet rude,  
Guileless of fire, had form’d, or angels brought.  
To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn’d,  
Likest she seem’d ; Pomona, when she fled  
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,  
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove. ’ Book IX. l. 385.

De Lille. ‘ Elle dit, et des mains de son fidele appui,

Sa main qu'il tient encor doucement se dégage ;  
 Elle part ; moins légère en sa courbe volage  
 Des mensonges brillans nous peignoient autrefois  
 La jeune Hamadryade et la nymphe des bois ;  
 Bien moins majestueux la fiction profane  
 Nous peignoit et les traits et le port de Diané.  
 Au lieu d'arc, de carquois, la serpe, le râteau  
 A sa jeune beauté prête un charme nouveau :  
*Adam même forgea cette armure champêtre,*

*Ou quelque ange des cieux les apporta peut-être.* p. 33-4.

If further specimen of Mr De Lille's success in this translation were wanting, we might refer to the sequel of this beautiful passage as it stands in the original and in the present version ; or, indeed, we might refer so generally to the whole of the work, that we should have some difficulty in selecting many passages as exceptions to the general censure we have been compelled to pass upon it. Perhaps the following extract is one of the parts which have been the best executed. Beautiful as it is in the original, it differs, in some respects, from Milton's general style of composition ; and perhaps, for this very reason, Mr De Lille has been more successful in his translation of it, though many of the faults we have noticed are very perceptible even here. The original is in the Fourth Book—

' *With thee conversing I forget all time,* ' &c.  
 down to

' *Or glittering star-light, without thee is sweet.* '  
 ' Oui, cher époux, dans toi je trouve tous les dons ;  
 Je ne distingue point les heures, les saisons ;  
 Avec toi tout me plaît dans la nature entière.  
 J'aime l'aube du jour et sa douce lumière,  
 Du réveil des oiseaux le concert matinal ;  
 J'aime à voir du soleil l'éclat oriental  
 Colorant par degrés de ses clartés naissantes  
 Et nos prés et nos fleurs, et nos fruits et nos plantes ;  
 Lorsque la fraîche ondée a plu du haut des cieux,  
 J'aime de ces bosquets l'ombre délicieux ;  
 J'aime à voir sur le sein de la terre arrosée  
 L'herbe où tremblent encor les gouttes de rosée.  
 Je rêve doucement, quand le soir de retour  
 Vient reposer nos yeux de l'éclat d'un beau jour,  
 Et lorsque, reprenant son amoureuse veille,  
 Le tendre rossignol enchante mon oreille,  
 Et lorsque de ses feux, pareil au diamant,  
 L'astre brillant des nuits pare le firmament.  
 Mais tout ce qui me plaît dans la nature entière,  
 Les prémices du jour et sa douce lumière,

Des oiseaux réveillés le concert matinal,  
 Du soleil renaissant l'éclat oriental,  
 Et la pluie humectant la campagne arrosée,  
 L'herbe où tremblent encor les gouttes de rosée,  
 Un beau soir, des bosquets l'hôte mélodieux,  
 Le repos de la nuit, son cours silencieux,  
 Ses innombrables feux, ses légions d'étoiles,  
 Et tous ces diamans dont elle orne ses voiles,  
 O charme de mon cœur ! que seroient-ils sans toi ?' p. 52-3.

If we had not already exceeded the limits prescribed to a criticism of this nature, it was our intention to have pointed out several extraordinary instances of Mr De Lille's use of the note of interrogation, and of the periphrasis. The latter, indeed, is so frequent, that we believe there are few instances throughout the whole poem, where he has translated such nouns as the sun, moon, or even man, by a single word. We had also wished to have commented on several passages, where he has descended so infinitely below the dignity of epic poetry, as almost to burlesque the original ; such, for instance, as when, in the beginning of the Fifth Book, after '*Such whispering waked her,*' he interpolates, '*Eve les yeux troublés en sursaut se releve ;*' or where he translates

————— '*Meanwhile, at table, Eve  
 Ministered naked ;*'

————— '*Eve chafement nue  
 Satisfaisant ensemble et le gout et la vue.*'

We trust, however, that from the extracts we have made, our readers will be able to form an accurate idea of the real merits of this work. They cannot, we think, fail to perceive, that of all authors, Mr de Lille has departed the farthest from the rule he laid down on a former occasion, viz. 'that the translator of a whole work was bound to preserve the thoughts and expressions of his prototype, and to attend even to his *costume*.' In the case before us, it is in vain that we search for the original ; neither the person, the dress, nor the manners, are the same. Presented in this form, Milton can only appear, even to those who are most intimately acquainted with him, as the '*excess of glory obscured,*' or

'As when the sun new risen  
 Looks through the horizontal misty air  
 Shorn of his beams ; or from behind the moon,  
 In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds.' Book I. l. 593.

We will not apologize to our readers for the length of the extracts we have made. Our object has been, rather to lay before them passages which would of themselves suggest matter for criticism, than to criticize, ourselves. Accordingly, we have chiefly  
 selected

selected those which must be familiar to every one who is at all versed in English literature. Those who know how to feel and appreciate their excellences, cannot but experience delight whenever they are recalled to their recollection; those (if any such there be) who are not yet acquainted with them, cannot but rejoice at their discovery.

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ART. XV. *An Inquiry into the State of the Nation at the Commencement of the present Administration.* pp. 238. 8vo. London. Ridgeway 1806. Third Edition.

THE sudden dissolution of the last ministry prevented the Parliament from inquiring into the measures which produced the late continental war, and led to the present calamitous situation of affairs. The object of the tract now before us, is to supply this defect, and to exhibit such an account of the state of the nation as might have been derived from the parliamentary discussion of the subject, and may lead, not only to a fair estimate of our present prospects, but to the remedies, if any yet remain, for our past errors. The work has obtained a very unusual share of the public attention; and we are now reviewing a third edition, though the first has not been published a week. It is understood, indeed, to speak the sentiments of the Government upon some of the most important subjects of discussion; its merits are, in our opinion, of the very highest order; and we hasten to lay an account of its contents before our readers, with some specimens of its execution, that the sound and wholesome principles which it appears to us to inculcate, may have a new chance of becoming as extensively known as they deserve.

The subject of the tract is, an Inquiry into the State of the Nation with respect to its Foreign Affairs; it is intended to exhibit a full view of the causes which have led to the late disasters of the Continent, and of the present state of Europe. There remain two other branches of the subject to be discussed—the State of our Colonial, and of our Domestic Policy. These points are omitted, for the present, as of less urgent importance, and only alluded to in the relation which they bear to the immediate object of the inquiry.

This inquiry is divided into three branches. In the first, the causes of the late disasters on the Continent are investigated at great length, and the errors of the allied powers, especially of England, are fully detailed. In the second part, a sketch is given of the consequences of that impolicy, and its effects upon the state

state of Europe. In the third, a view is taken of the other particulars in the state of Europe, which cannot be directly referred to the late coalition against France. The work concludes with the general inferences to which the previous discussion had led, respecting the line of policy to be adopted by this country in her foreign relations.

I. In reviewing the history of the late continental league, as detailed by the documents laid before Parliament, our attention is arrested by so many capital errors of primary importance committed by the allies; particularly by England, the mover of the confederacy, that it is only difficult to choose where we shall begin, and to say when our exposition shall end. It may be proper just to notice the heads under which the work before us arranges those errors, and to present a summary of the argument upon the most striking of them.

The league was arranged in a manner altogether hostile to France, from the very beginning. No attempts were made at pacific overtures, although France had lately shewn a desire to negotiate, and the Government of England had some time before pledged itself to seek the mediation of Russia. A war was the grand object from the first; and then this war was entered upon without any precise or definite object. The treaties enumerate, indeed, several purposes which the combined powers affect to have in view, such as the independence of Holland, the liberation of Italy, the freedom of Switzerland and others. But the work before us enters into a minute examination of all these proposed objects, and clearly proves that they are mere words of no meaning; that nothing short of the conquest of France could secure the real independence of countries necessarily exposed to her power, like Holland and Piedmont; that the removal of French troops from these provinces is a nugatory demand, since France would withdraw them at any rate during peace, and must retain the power of replacing them as soon as war is renewed, *i. e.* as soon as it is her interest to replace them; that the liberation of the Continent from French influence or tyranny, was not to be attempted by plunging it in war, but must result from changes which no hostilities can bring about. For the illustration of these and other positions of the same tendency, we must refer our readers to the work itself;—on this part of the question, it abounds in argument and in details, which are extremely instructive. Having thus exposed the groundwork of the late system, this division of the reasoning is summed up as follows.

‘ A league, then, of unparalleled expense and vast risk is concerted, without any precise object but that of beginning a war; without any  
view

view more specific than a vague desire of curbing the power of France ; without a plan more comprehensive than that of freeing from momentary oppression, a few detached parts of the French dependencies ; with no preconceived scheme for securing their independence, or for carrying into effect the general wish that has been formed to check French usurpation.—But, it may be asked, is the situation of Europe so hopeless that no means can be devised for accomplishing the grand objects which we have been rapidly surveying ? Must Holland be united in fate with Belgium, and the Cisalpine decide the destinies of the South ?—The consideration of these matters belongs to a future stage of this inquiry. At present it is enough to have shewn that those objects bear no relation to the mere act of commencing a hostile coalition ; that the fortune of war might drive the French troops out of Holland and Naples, without rendering those states less dependent on France ; that the emancipation of Europe could only be obtained from a war of this description, in the most improbable event of its leading to the entire conquest of France ; and that the choice of instant hostilities, without giving any reasonable prospect of success, in prosecuting the general scheme, precluded all chance of paving the way to better times, by a gradual and peaceable arrangement. The only specific object of the coalition, then, was to make war upon France, and try the event. Let us next inquire, whether this object was prosecuted with such a degree of wisdom, as bestowed any title to expect that the event would be prosperous.’  
p. 21–23.

We cannot follow this important part of the question as minutely as its discussion deserves ; it consists chiefly of reasonings from facts and circumstances contained in the official papers, and enters necessarily into much detail. The whole substance of the argument against the late alliance, drawn from a view of the state of Europe at the time, is given with great force and correctness in the following sketch of the relative situation of France and Austria at the breaking out of the war.

‘ Such, then, was the unwillingness of Austria, and such the means employed to bring her into the late ruinous contest.—And, truly, when we reflect on the exhausted state in which the last war had left her ; when we consider the loss of her ancient provinces, best situated for offensive operations, and the various difficulties which opposed themselves to any attempt at calling forth the resources of her new acquisitions ; when we survey her finances, involved in unexampled embarrassment, and her cumbrous administration checking in every quarter the development of her natural strength ; when, above all, we think of the universal dread of a new war, which prevailed through every rank of her people, dispirited by a recollection of the last, and impressed with a firm belief in the ascendant of France ; when, to all this, we oppose the signal advantages of her enemy in every particular ;—a compact and powerful territory, impregnable to attack, and commanding its neighbours from the excellence of its offensive positions ; an army inured to war and to  
constant

constant victory; an armed people intoxicated with natural vanity, and the recollection of unparalleled triumphs; a government, uniting the vigour of military despotism, with the energies of a new dynasty; an administration commanding in its service all the talents of the state; finances, unburthened by the debts of old monarchies, and unfettered by the good faith of wiser rulers; finally, a military expedition of vast magnitude, at the very moment prepared, and applicable to any destination which the change of circumstances might require:—when we contrast these mighty resources with the remnant of her strength which Austria had to meet them, we shall marvel but little at her backwardness to seize the present juncture for beginning a war, which, if unprosperous, must be her last. In a prudent delay she saw that every advantage might be expected; an improvement in her domestic economy; a gradual amelioration of her political constitution; the correction of those evils in her military system, which had formerly proved fatal; the change of conduct towards her frontier provinces, which the experience of last war prescribed; the progress of her rich dominions, and numerous and various population in civility and wealth; the confirmation and extension of her foreign alliances. On the other hand, most of the enemy's advantages were likely to be impaired by delay; many of them were peculiar to the present crisis; almost all of them were of a temporary nature. The pursuits of commerce might temper his warlike and turbulent spirit; the formidable energy of a new government might yield to the corruption which time never fails to engender, and, though kept quite pure, could not but relax during the interval of quiet: The constitution was likely to become either more despotic and weaker for offensive measures, or more popular and less inclined to adopt them; for a nation always becomes a wiser and better neighbour in proportion as its affairs are influenced by the voice of the community: The arts of peace must modify that system of military conscription which made every Frenchman a warrior: The remembrance of recent victories would gradually wear away, both in the army and the nation: Allies might desert from better views of their interest; dependent states might throw off the yoke, when they recovered from the panic that made them bend to it; neutral powers might be roused to a just sense of their duty, when a successful resistance seemed practicable, and the reestablishment of the Austrian affairs furnished a centre round which to rally: The army destined to invade England would probably fail in the attempt, or at any rate might be occupied in making it: Factions were more likely to disturb the vigour of the government when the continent was at peace; nay, the chance was worth considering, which every delay gave, of some sinister accident befalling the chief, whose destinies involved those of France herself, and whose power had not yet received its last consolidation.—Every thing then rendered a delay as hurtful to the enemy as it was desirable to Austria and her allies. If France had been called upon to choose the juncture of her affairs, at which a new continental league should be formed against her, not only with safety, but with eminent advantage,



to her interests, she would have chosen the year 1804 : that the operations of this league, after it had once been formed, should be delayed till the latter part of the year, she could scarcely have dared to hope. If Austria had been desired to name the crisis at which her present necessities, as well as the prospects of bettering her condition, most clearly enjoined an adherence to peace, she must have been blind, indeed, not to fix upon the same period ; and if she had shut her eyes to her most obvious interests, it would have been the best policy of her allies to undeceive her, and chiefly of England, who had no stay on the continent but Austria. But the blindness was our's ; Austria was alive to her true interests, as she knew her real situation ; and we unhappily prevailed upon her to seek certain ruin, by partaking of our infatuation.' p. 33—39.

The next subject of complaint against the makers of the third coalition, is their strange inattention to Prussia. Their utter ignorance of her dispositions when the league was formed, their prospects of opposition from Berlin after they had begun to act, and their persisting in the hostile plan in spite of those prospects, are clearly demonstrated from the official documents. We may remark, in passing, that the whole of the author's views with respect to Prussia, both in this and the subsequent part of his work, have received a lamentable confirmation since its publication.

From a view of these errors in the original formation of the plan, we are led to trace the no less fatal mistakes which accompanied its execution. These are chiefly resolved into one fundamental improvidence,—the want of direct intercourse between England and Austria. Would it have been believed possible in King William's days, that England could ever be in such a state as to join, or form a league with powers who would not trust her with their secrets respecting the common cause, and even refuse to communicate with her at all, until the moment when her money was wanted ? The truth of this charge is distinctly made out from the papers themselves ; and there cannot be a doubt, that it was vain to expect any good from a league instigated by England, and to the operations of which she was not allowed to be privy. The following passage elucidates still more forcibly the inferences respecting the conduct of this country, which naturally flow from the preceding facts.

' Now, it may probably be stated, that the powers of the continent would not coalesce with us on any other terms ; that from dislike of our active interference in continental affairs, they refused to involve themselves in a more close connexion with us than the necessitous state of their finances required ; that from dread of offending France before the scheme was matured, they would not acknowledge the extent of their intercourse with us ; that from these motives they refused to give us any share of influence in arranging the measures of the league, and even

even declined admitting us to an intimate knowledge of their concerted scheme.—We believe there may be much truth in this statement, and that it will contain a just account of the matter, if to these motives of repugnance we add a great distrust of our political wisdom in continental affairs; and perhaps some doubts of our good faith, arising from our conduct in former wars. But the existence of these prepossessions against us, is the very reason why this juncture should not have been chosen for a new coalition; and whatever may have been the motives, the repugnance of Austria and Russia to ally themselves with us, was a sufficient argument against pressing the formation of a league. Austria would not give us better terms, you say:—That is no reason for making a confederacy upon bad terms, but a perfectly good reason for waiting till better can be obtained. There was no absolute necessity for making war on France in the summer of 1805. It is to be hoped we were not in such fear of invasion, as to buy the short respite of a diversion at any price. There was no pressing occasion, so far at least as the country was concerned, for having a continental campaign finished before the session of Parliament began: It is to be hoped that our representatives would have granted supplies without the stimulus of a war in the circle of Austria; and a confidence in the wisdom of government might have kept them in good humour, without the fearful amusement of battles between French and German armies. After we had unwarily begun a new coalition, we might have paused when we found the obstacles to its success so insurmountable. There was no fatality to make us persist in arming the continent, when we perceived that the powers of Germany would neither unite together nor confide in us. We should have sacrificed nothing but our temerity, and lost nothing but our too sanguine hopes, had we put off the execution of our rash design, when we discovered that Austria would not treat directly with us; that she durst not avow our friendship, until Russia came up to protect her from the consequences of such an admission; that the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin could not be brought to forget Silesia and the indemnities. It was an ample ground for refusing to complete the league, that the allies would give us no voice in forming the plans of the campaign, or even in arranging the system of the war; that they for the first time recognized the enemy's favourite policy of excluding us from the continent, and would not hear a whisper from us until the moment when our money was wanted.

‘ But every part of our conduct is marked with the same deplorable impatience which prompted the first step. Having in our rashness resolved to make a league, notwithstanding the unsuitableness of the times, the same temerity made us persist in our scheme, in spite of the backwardness and distrust of our allies. We hurried on matters to a new coalition, at a moment when the enemy alone could lose, by delay; and pressed forward the coalition to a new war, when our allies, spiritless and inefficient in themselves, would neither suffer us to participate in the formation, nor in the knowledge of the common schemes. “ Make war ”—was our cry—“ successfully if you can, but make war.—League against

against France—wisely and cordially if possible, with such a union among yourselves, and such solid help from us, as may give some small chance of safety, if not of advantage—but at all events league against France.” Thus a coalition and a campaign were the only objects in the contemplation of our government, and they fatally attained their wish; they got up the concert of St Petersburg, and the invasion of Bavaria. There was a convention and a war, however, which they did not bargain for; the enemy was as rapid in completing the picture as they had been in preparing the canvas; the finishing, too, for so hasty a performance, was wonderfully harmonious with the original design—he gave them in a few weeks the conquest of Austria, and the treaty of Presburg.’ p. 60–65.

From these capital errors are deduced the various defects in the combined operations. Four blunders are more particularly exposed;—the choice of the commander in chief—the conduct of Austria towards Bavaria—the gross miscalculation of the allies respecting the movements of French armies—and the omission of Switzerland in their plan of operations. The subject of Switzerland is discussed in a manner particularly luminous and interesting; and the impolicy of our conduct towards that country is shewn in a very striking point of view. We shall at present extract the concluding part of this argument, not so much for its relation to Swiss affairs, as because it exhibits an afflicting, and, we fear, a very correct picture of the foreign policy of England for many years.

‘ But the conduct of England relative to Swiss affairs, was indeed unfortunate in other respects. She seems to have joined with the allies in misconceiving at all times the importance of the Alpine territory. Her treatment of the cantons, when France invaded them in 1802, and the misfortunes which befel her allies in those countries, through the unskilfulness of the English agents, during the whole of the last war, will not soon be forgotten by the Swiss. But a more recent impolicy on our part, has thrown away all the advantages which the coalition might still have expected from the tried valour of that people, and their unconquerable hatred of France. We granted pensions to many of the Swiss officers who had entered our service during the last war, and always on the express condition that they should *not* reside in Switzerland. These brave men, whose influence with their countrymen was powerful; whose fidelity to our cause had never been suspected; who only panted after the moment when their rage against France might once shew itself at the head of their peasantry, were thus deprived of the only means by which they could maintain their personal authority, and support the good cause in their own country. Had they been allowed to receive at home a pension, earned by the utter ruin of their fortunes in our service, and not forced to earn it over again by submitting to banishment; and had a similar bounty been extended to the other reduced officers, who were left at the peace without means of subsistence, unless they entered the French or Helvetian service; the means would have been prepared—in generosity and prudence prepared—of

—of rousing the whole Alps from Constance to the Rhone, in hostility to France, as soon as the war should break out; and the allies would then have had some prospect of invading that powerful empire, on the side where alone it can be attacked. It must, however, be admitted, that such a conduct on the part of England would have been anomalous, and sufficiently inconsistent with the rest of her foreign policy. To have looked forward beyond the next year; to have taken measures in silence for the slow preparations of distant events; to have gradually disposed the minds of a people in our favour by kind treatment, for which no immediate return was expected, or won them by any other means than a manifesto from a commander at the head of a paltry force; to have laid plans of war beforehand which should not for some time burst into view, with glare and noise; out of our millions to have given a few pounds for the support of our firmest friends, ruined in our cause; to have spent what we did give, in a manner grateful to them, or really beneficial to our interests; in our countless subsidies, to have had a single guinea bestowed, which should not be repaid by the defeat of the receiver immediately, and his utter ruin, at six months credit—all this would have indicated a strange, unaccountable deviation from the system which has been unremittingly at work, since the treaty of Pilnitz, by day and by night, during war and during truce, in aggrandizing the proud, and crushing the humble, and which has at length, by the most persevering constancy of operation, unhappily completed the ruin of our allies; and triumphing, it must be confessed, over various and mighty obstacles, established our enemy in universal empire.

These four capital errors in the arrangement of the late war, are, we think, either to be ascribed to England not having been consulted, or else to her having partaken in the infatuation of the allies. But it will be said that those allies would give her no voice in such matters as the choice of a general, the march of troops, and the plan of a campaign; and that they would have persisted in adhering to their own errors, even after England should have pointed them out. This is not improbable; but it only shews, for the hundredth time, that things were not ripe for a new war. If Austria persisted in preferring a general, from court favour, to the great prince who had twice saved the monarchy; if she insisted on calculating her plans upon the supposition that French armies can only move ten miles a day through Flanders; if she shut her eyes to the value of Bavaria, and refused to learn the paramount importance of Switzerland in any war against France—then it was manifest that nothing could be hoped for, and that Austria had not been subdued to a sense of her interest, nor felt her real situation. It was the province of England to prevent her from beginning a league for which she was so ill prepared. It was madness in England to hurry on the Continent to a war, which, if unsuccessful, must be its last struggle for independence, in circumstances that made it madness to hope for success. p. 80—85.

Our author next examines the nature of the direct assistance afforded by England to the operations of her allies. The folly of the expedition to Hanover, and the extreme inutility of the landing in Naples, as well as its ruinous consequences to the interests of that country, are satisfactorily exposed.

‘We managed with our usual skill to unite all disadvantages in one plan; we hurried on one ally to the ruin which has since befallen him, for the purpose of rendering our army useless at a time when another ally might have been saved by its cooperation. So uniform, so harmonious in every quarter have been the schemes of England throughout the late coalition!—And can we wonder that our affairs have been ruined amidst the waste of our resources, and the squander of our opportunities, when we have been consistent only in impolicy, lavish of every thing but vigour, and strenuous in pursuing all varieties of plan, all sorts of system, except those which border upon prudence and wisdom?’ p. 91, 92.

The enumeration of the errors committed by England during the last twelve months, concludes with a just censure of the late Cabinet, for exposing, by its official publications, secrets of a nature peculiarly delicate, the disclosure of which could serve no one purpose, except that of enraging our allies, and confirming their distrust of us on every future occasion. By the details given under this head, we find that those very things are divulged which should most studiously have been kept private; and that the imprudence of this last act, fully suits the impolicy which marks all the rest of the piece. The first branch of the subject closes with an interesting comparison between the character and measures of King William, particularly the policy that led to the grand alliance, and the wretched system described in the foregoing part of the present work.

II. The second part of this inquiry, which exhibits a view of the effects produced on the state of Europe by the late disastrous campaign, opens with a sketch of the actual changes of dominion operated by the treaty of Presburg. The extent of these, we believe, has not, by any means, been duly appreciated by the people of this country—averse as they always are to the discussion of such questions, and ignorant for the most part of continental affairs. It is the more important, therefore, to have a clear and authentic statement of the subject in all its relations; and truly the picture which the section now before us presents, is in the highest degree alarming. The value of the Venetian territory, both in a military and a naval point of view, and the prodigious loss of security occasioned to Austria by the cession of the Tyrol, are the more immediate considerations which the articles of Presburg suggest. The particular details of the subject cannot be abridged in this abstract; but we shall solicit the attention

tention of our readers to the more indirect, but scarcely more remote consequences of the subjugation of Austria,—the subjection of Switzerland to France,—the future impossibility of attacking France with any prospect of success,—the entire exclusion of Austria from the affairs of Italy, and the complete submission of that fine country to the dominion of France. The conclusion of this part of the question, in which a general view is taken of the results of the preceding statement, deserves to be extracted.

‘ Thus has the grand strife between France and Austria at length been settled, by the surrender of Italy, more absolute and unconditional, and in a far greater extent, than the courtiers of Charles, of Francis, or of Lewis, ever dared flatter their masters to expect. France has now become sole mistress of that splendid country, from the Alps to the Straights of Messina. Its position, which domineers over the Mediterranean ; its mighty resources ; the fruitfulness of the garden of Europe ; the bays, and rivers, and harbours, which open to its produce the uttermost ends of the earth ; the forests which variegate its surface, and only break the continuity of culture to augment its powers, by preparing for this favoured land the dominion of the sea ; the genius and fire of its numerous people ; the monuments of art ; the remains of antiquity ; the ground on which the glories of their Roman ancestors were achieved ;—all are now in the hands of the nation in the world best able to improve them—to combine them—to make them aid one another ; and, after calling them forth, to the incalculable augmentation of her former resources, ready to turn them against those, if any such shall remain, who still dare to be her enemies.

‘ The other changes of dominion effected by the treaty of Presburg—the emperor’s cession of his possessions in Suabia, and his submission to the further spoliation of the German empire ; though important in themselves, and sufficient, in any former period, to alarm all Europe for their consequences ; sink into insignificance after the entire surrender of Italy, which we have been contemplating. All those changes have one simple view—the diminution of the Austrian monarchy ; its separation from France by a number of petty kingdoms dependent on the French power ; the transference of the Emperor’s influence in Germany to his enemies ; and his confinement to the politics of the East of Europe ; where also he is closely watched by France and her creatures. Nor does it make any difference upon the relative situation of the powers, that the sacrifices of Austria have been made to aggrandize the dependants of France, and not France herself. That overgrown empire could not expect to keep together more nations and countries than it already counted within its limits. The only feat which the French power has not attempted, is the conciliation of those peoples whom it has conquered : the only difficulties which it has not mastered, are those that natural boundaries present. France, therefore, finds it more easy to complete the incorporation of Europe by some intermediate process,

which may assimilate its heterogeneous parts, and prepare them for a lasting, as well as an intimate union. In the mean time, her sway over the principalities and powers, whom she calls into existence, is absolute and certain; her influence is hourly gaining ground. Should the course of events maintain the nominal separation of those dependent kingdoms, they may, at some future period, revolt from her federal empire; but, for years to come, they are as subservient to her purposes, as if they had no separate names. Had she not acted upon such principles; had she taken more to herself at Presburg; she would have resembled the allies, whose impolicy has laid Europe at her feet: she would have seemed to gain more, but she would not have been the formidable neighbour which a deeper policy has made her.' p. 117-20.

Our attention is next directed to the more general consequences of the total and easy discomfiture of Austria. The spirit of its people is subdued—their belief in the ascendant of France confirmed—their dread of renewing the struggle against her augmented a thousand fold. The people of France, on the other hand, are strengthened by the exultation of success;—their confidence, always great, is now boundless. Nothing in Europe remains to oppose them; and they may take, during peace, what their policy prevented them from seizing at the treaty of Presburg. 'Do we not know,' says the author, 'that the only extensive or durable conquests have been made gradually; that in treating with a humbled enemy, you raise him by exacting too harsh conditions; that the wisest policy is to take something, and by the present, to pave the way for future gains. One only chance of retaining even the name of independence now remains to our unfortunate ally;—she must listen no more to such counsellors as hurried her into the late alliance in spite of her better reason. By skill and strength she may possibly preserve some part of what is left, and improve it in peace. If she once more forsakes moderate counsels, she is undone.'

The second branch of the Inquiry concludes with a view of our peculiar interests as affected by the disastrous issue of the late campaign. The risk of the invasion being attempted; and its dangers, if tried, are shewn to be greatly augmented by the aggrandizement of France, and the humiliation of her enemies. No fear of a continental war can now prevent our adversary from putting his threats in execution;—no apprehensions of unpopularity at home, should he fail, will now tempt him to leave us alone. The Continent is constrained to remain quiet, should England be utterly conquered by France; and should the attempt altogether fail, any thing will be forgiven to the conqueror of *Austerlitz* and *Ulm*. Formerly he was undone, if he tried the invasion and failed: now he may take the chance of succeeding, and

and the certainty of doing us irreparable mischief by the attempt. A striking picture is drawn at this part of the argument of the real evils of an invasion, even if it fails entirely. The following passage we recommend to all those thoughtless persons who cry out for 'battles on their own ground.'

'With every disposition to exalt the valour of Britons, and to augur well of their efforts in defence of the greatest blessing which any people enjoy; we may be permitted to dread the event of a contest between courage and skill. Nor was the difference between the two ever so strongly marked as since the experience of the late campaign. It is no disrespect to our troops and their commanders, to question whether their native talents are sufficient to supply their want of experience, and to wish that, until measures are taken to improve them in their art, there may be no trial of generalship between them and the conductors of the late German campaign. That the country could be ultimately conquered, we cannot indeed for a moment allow ourselves to believe: but there are other evils attending an invasion, besides the greatest of all evils; there are injuries short of utter ruin which a nation may receive from it. We know nothing practically of war in this happy land: we have heard of its effects, and read of battles at a great distance; but we know it not from experience, and it is well we do not. Never was a country worse calculated for being the scene of military operations, for having the hazardous issue of war tried within its bounds. With its wealth, its crowded population, its multitude of artificers and traders, its paper circulation, its public debts, its commercial credit; with the various factitious qualities of a nice and complicated system of most artificial society; and, above all, without any experience whatever of a campaign on its own ground—how frightful to contemplate the mischiefs which so unusual a convulsion must occasion, admitting it should end in the total defeat of the invader! It is clear, that no wise man will desire to see such an experiment tried; and that, however it may end, the attempt would of itself be an enormous evil.'

p. 128—130.

The second part closes with a just exhibition of the unaccountable security in which our government were plunged during the last campaign; their utter carelessness about the measures of defence during that period; and their irreparable loss of the best opportunity they could enjoy of improving the military system of this country.

III. In the third branch of the Inquiry, a comprehensive view is taken of the remaining particulars in the present state of Europe, under five heads:—the Spanish war; the state of Holland, and the other powers wholly dependent on France; the politics of Austria, Prussia and Russia; the state of France herself; and the questions respecting belligerent rights with the neutral nations. The evil consequences of the war with Spain; our impolicy in forcing



forcing that power into the hands of France, at the moment when our object was to free the Continent by a general alliance against the common enemy; our inconsistency in conducting the Spanish war upon a plan which united every disadvantage, and avoided all chance of gaining more than a few casks of dollars, are demonstrated in a very satisfactory manner. The proof respecting Holland is equally strong. The causes of her subjection to France, her extreme unwillingness to throw off the yoke, and her aversion to England, are pointed out from a review of the circumstances in which the Dutch people are placed. The entire hopelessness of all attempts to free them, or reduce the French influence in that submissive country, is the manifest conclusion from this part of the argument. The same inference is extended to Switzerland, Italy, and the petty kingdoms of Germany.

‘For a long course of years’ (concludes the author) ‘they must submit in silence, however well inclined to rebel; and the worst service that the well-wishers of European independence could render them, would be to stir up any premature attempt at effecting their deliverance. We may rest assured, then, that the petty states by whom France has surrounded herself, as well as the more powerful dominions which she has succeeded in subduing, are firmly united to her fortunes, some by their weakness, others by their disinclination to exert their strength in a way which they deem hurtful to their interests; that from Holland to Switzerland, and from Switzerland to Turkey, she has covered a frontier almost every where strong by nature, with dependent nations, whom there is no chance of our seeing revolt, and who will always bear the first shock of a war waged against her, if they do not actively assist in her offensive operations. What remains for the rest of Europe to undertake, in its own behalf, may not be very easily discovered; but nothing can be more plain than the course of policy which should, at the present juncture, be avoided—the vain attempt to force those subject nations into new and ruinous efforts at regaining their independence.’ p. 157. 158,

The weakness of Austria, from the mal-administration of her affairs, and the long established errors of her internal policy, is described at great length. This part of the subject is handled very much in detail, and abounds with important information upon some branches of political economy. It concludes with a statement of the advantage derived to France from the jealousies which divide the only three powers whom she has not yet subdued, and the hopelessness of any new confederacy against her, until time shall have been given for the restoration of harmony among them, as well as for the development of their natural resources. The actual extent of the French power itself forms the next subject of contemplation; and in this survey, the object that chiefly arrests our attention, is the nature of the military conscription, of which a truly frightful picture is exhibited. We extract the concluding passage of this statement.

‘Thus,

‘ Thus, we find that it is no exaggeration, no metaphorical language, to denominate France a great military empire ; to say that the government now calls forth the whole resources of the state, and that every Frenchman is literally a soldier. Nothing like this has ever appeared since the early days of the Roman people. The feudal militia had not the same regularity, the same science and discipline. The insurrection of Hungary, the rising *en masse* of Switzerland and America, were all confined to particular emergencies. The national guards and first conscriptions of France herself, which approach nearer to the new order of things, were still far inferior to it in systematic arrangement and extent of operation ; yet by their aid, imperfect as they were in the comparison, she gained all that she had conquered previous to the last campaign. But her present system is in truth a terrible spectacle. The most numerous and ingenious people in the world have abandoned the arts of peace, not for their defence, but after having conquered all the nations around them. They have betaken themselves to the military life as their main pursuit, almost their exclusive occupation, not from impatience of a long continued quiet, but at the end of various revolutions, and a series of the most destructive wars. With a government purely military, a stock of science peculiarly adapted to the same pursuits, and a species of wealth not likely to be immediately ruined by such a change, they have established a regular system of discipline, which draws every arm into the service of the country, and renders the whole surface of the most compact, extensive, and best situated country in Europe, one vast camp, swarming with the finest soldiers—

“ *Ubi fas versum atque nefas : tot bella per orbem,* ” &c.

This branch of the Inquiry closes with a full discussion of the neutral question, at present so much agitated in this country and America. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reasonings contained in it, as they coincide for the most part with those which we have ourselves submitted upon the same subject in the present Number. We shall only remark, that the author waves the question of right, applies himself chiefly to shew that the value of the object in dispute has been greatly exaggerated, and proves, that every argument of policy is against the assertion of our claims.

‘ All the evils or difficulties ’ (it is observed) ‘ which press upon this branch of our affairs, are the necessary consequences of the long war in which we have been engaged. They are part of that succession which the new administration have fallen heirs to ; a succession made up of all the dangers and difficulties which a long course of mismanagement and misfortune has accumulated upon the country.

The tract concludes with a statement of the inferences suggested by the foregoing investigation respecting the policy which this country ought now to adopt, if she wishes to remain independent, and to preserve a chance of once more liberating the rest of Europe.

‘ That

That the high, unbending, unaccommodating tone, which we have been accustomed to hold all over the world, and which the personal behaviour of our foreign ministers has generally rendered still more unpalatable, is in the extreme foolish at all times, and particularly unfit for the present aspect of things, needs not be proved by a single argument, or illustrated by one example. Nor is it less obvious, that the feelings and the language of conciliation, of moderate views, of calm and temperate dignity to our enemies, of friendly sincerity and frankness to our allies, are the feelings and the language most subservient at all times to our highest interests; most consistent with our true honour; and most agreeable to the situation in which the affairs of Europe, as well as of England, are placed in the present crisis,' p. 206, 207.

A more particular delineation is then given of the system which ought to be pursued at home and abroad, as adapted to our perilous situation. The chief points touched upon are, the employment of able men in our foreign diplomacy; the reform of our West Indian colonies, by the abolition of the slave trade, and the relaxation of the navigation law; the recurrence to a wise and pacific, and, if it be possible in that country to talk of justice, a just system of policy in the East; the reform of abuses in our domestic administration; and the improvement of the Catholics in Ireland. But the grand change of all is, the recommendation of pacific views, with which the work concludes, and to which, indeed, every page of it leads by irresistible arguments. This passage forms our last extract, which we give with a sincerity of joy, proportioned to our wishes that such counsels may at last prevail, and to our desire that the world may now be saved, while it is yet possible, by the restoration of tranquillity.

'It is, indeed, abundantly clear, that the state of our affairs, domestic as well as foreign, enjoins a strict regard to the conciliatory system in general, and prepares us more especially to expect, in such a peace as may be consistent with our real honour, the highest advantages, both to our own interests and those of Europe at large. With regard to the continent, it has already been demonstrated that nothing but mischief can possibly accrue from a renewal of the late unhappy war. What then is likely to result from things remaining in their present unsettled state? Will the enemy, so long as we refuse to give him peace, so long as we prevent our allies from treating, so long as we do not use our influence to bring about a negotiation—will he abstain from reaping the thousand advantages of his present situation? Will he submit to all the evils of warfare, and forego all its gains? Will he unite in his plan all the losses of war and all the constraints of peace? This would be too close an imitation of our own conduct with regard to Spain. Unhappily we cannot expect to be imitated in our European tactics. Our East Indian policy will suit him better. He will go on conquering such of our allies as continue hostile; uniting with those whom he may intimidate,

or allure to share in the plunder of the rest ; stretching his creations of kings over the North of Germany ; aggrandizing those whom he has made in the South ; extending his dominion in Italy over the islands, and from Italy striding onwards to the East.

*Jam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit*

*Aëum, inquit, nihil est.*

‘ To all this prospect of loss, from a senseless prolongation of a war which has unfortunately reached its natural conclusion, the enemies of peace can only oppose certain vague indefinite fears of the dangers with which they conceive a peace to be pregnant. First, they imagine that good or even fair terms cannot be expected ; then they think the enemy will not be sincere ; next, they dread his taking the opportunity of recruiting his resources, and especially of restoring his navy ; lastly, they expect that he will take us by surprise, and attack us when he is sure to succeed. In all these apprehensions, however, there is a great deal of misconception, and no small inconsistency. As to the terms, we must first see what he offers. It is indeed very evident, that we cannot expect such favourable conditions for the Continent, as if we had not plunged it into the late war, and occasioned the ruin of Austria, the conquest of Naples, and the aggrandizement of France and her dependencies. We cannot hope such terms as the present administration would have gained, had it been formed two years ago. But it is equally clear, that, if the enemy finds his advantage in peace, (and if he does not, we need neither expect it nor desire it), and if he estimates, as he must, the high spirit, and unconquerable valour of this country, he will make no proposals which can dishonour us. He will even tempt us to overcome our repugnance towards him, and our contempt of his new authority, by some favourable concessions. Then, with regard to his sincerity, we may safely conclude that the same motive which leads him to think of making a peace, will induce him to keep it—the motive of interest ;—for what can he gain by a transient peace, except the paltry cession of a few islands, which we shall always be able to retake, with the troops and shipping he may send thither, so long as our marine is superior to his ?—Next, as to his recruiting his resources, and particularly his navy, this he most undoubtedly will attempt to do. We must lay our account with it. We mean to recruit our own army, and he must lay his account with that. But does it follow, that he will be able to acquire a navy equal to ours during the peace ? Where are his seamen ? Where are his officers and pilots ? Where are his Nelsons ? Should the peace last for ten years, which is unfortunately a high estimate, how much would England gain in her commerce, her finances, her colonial and domestic economy, her military system, her foreign policy ! And France, too, would gain somewhat in several of these particulars. Her trade would increase, and she would acquire colonial establishments. Would not this make her much less warlike ? Would it not be utterly incompatible with the military conscription, the most formidable feature in her present aspect ? Would it not render her less military in peace,

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and more averse to war, the greatest of evils to a mercantile and colonial nation? But could her navy in ten, or even twenty years of peace, possibly grow up so as to match our own? Should we not, at the end of such a happy period, enter upon the war with our commerce augmented, our finances cleared from debt, our wealth more able to supply our necessities, our navy more numerous? And would not this be the very same thing with beginning a new series of brilliant victories over the navy of our enemies? Besides, with the restoration of our continental relations, and the improvement of our army, might we not fairly expect even success on shore, as well as at sea? Why is not France averse to peace from her fears of our commerce increasing, and our army being established on a new system? Why then should we, who are as courageous as herself, dread the progress of her trade, and the reestablishment of her marine? But to all such fears one answer may be given—they prove too much—they prove that peace can never be made, if they dissuade us from making it now; they have no application to this particular time,—they are apprehensions of all times,—and they go to involve the world in one eternal war.' p. 212-217.

We now take leave of this most important tract, which we have done little more than faintly describe to our readers; and which, both for the magnitude of its object, and the merits of its execution, would, we are fully sensible, have deserved a more able review. But we conceive that the extracts which we have given, and the abstract which we have resorted to, when the original could not be laid before our readers, may have the effect of spreading more universally the knowledge of its contents; happy if, by our humble efforts, we shall succeed in our earnest wish to aid those salutary effects, which we think it cannot fail to produce upon the minds of men in this eventful crisis. The only parts of the author's doctrines in which we do not heartily agree, are those, we are sorry to say, which are of a consolatory nature. We do not think he has at all exaggerated the dangers of war, but we cannot help suspecting that he has underrated the dangers of peace; and, desponding as we have no doubt he will appear to many of the sanguine spirits of this country, we only blame him for giving too flattering a picture of the hopes and resources which remain to us.

ART. XVI. *Leonora*. By Miss Edgeworth. Two Volumes. pp. 580. London, 1806.

MISS EDGEWORTH always writes with good sense, and with good intentions: but this is not among her best doings; the story is neither very probable, nor very interesting;—most of the

the characters are rather sketches than finished portraits; and there is a want both of persons and of incidents, which produces a degree of languor not to have been expected in so short a work of so animated a writer. There are not many persons, we believe, in this country, who stand in need of the lessons it is intended to teach; and perhaps it is not altogether calculated to produce much effect upon such persons. All the lessons which it does teach, however, are salutary; and all the effect it can produce, must be favourable. It is chiefly for this reason that we have thought it worth while to give a short account of it.

The story is that of a wise, virtuous, well-bred English husband, who is seduced from the most amiable wife in the world, by the arts of a Frenchified coquette; and after having run the whole career of unlawful intrigue and gallantry, has his eyes opened to the true character of his seducer, and returns penitent and humiliated to his generous and forgiving consort. This is a very narrow foundation, our readers will perceive, for a novel in two volumes: but it is easy to discover, that it was not so much the story, as the moral, that Miss Edgeworth was anxious about, and that she intended this fable merely as a vehicle for those disquisitions on affected sensibility and conjugal duty with which it is very copiously adorned. The work being thrown into the form of letters, gives her an opportunity of introducing these with great felicity and success; and she has put together a number of remarks and reasonings, which we have perused with great satisfaction and delight. The evil, however, we think, is scarcely of so urgent a nature as to make us set any extraordinary value upon the remedy. The affectation or the indulgence of excessive sensibility, is no longer the vice of our countrywomen;—they have been pretty well laughed out of it; and, we believe, no tolerably well educated young woman of eighteen, would feel any thing but contempt and derision for such effusions as fall from the pen of Lady Olivia. The fashion has gone down now to the lower orders of society; and we dare say there is still a good deal of raving about tideless blooded souls, overwhelming emotions, and narrow prejudices, among the abigails and dealers in small millinery, who read novels, and sip ratafia upon the borders of prostitution:—But as it was not for such patients, we presume, that Miss Edgeworth compounded her cordials, we scarcely think she will find much occasion for them in the world she takes charge of.

The character of this sentimental lady and her French friend, we do not think very well drawn. Both are caricatured, and their views and follies so clearly marked, as to render it quite improbable that they should impose upon any person of common observation or knowledge of the world. The French picture is the best,

best, and has certainly a number of national traits, that must have been derived from modern observation; but we did expect something more highly finished from the historian of Lady Delacour.

We complained, on a former occasion, of the partiality which led Miss Edgeworth, in all her conjugal portraits, to give such an unreasonable share of merit to the lady; and we cannot easily forgive her upon this occasion, for having made her English wife in all respects so much more amiable and respectable than her husband. At the same time, we must own that she makes some amends, by inculcating the duties of submission, gentleness and obedience, in a most zealous and orthodox manner. Both in the tale of Griselda, and in the work now before us, she has been at much laudable pains to hold up to ridicule and contempt, the magnanimous pretensions of those who are commonly called women of spirit; and to point out the gross folly and impropriety of that vindictive and irritating temper of mind, in defence of which we have heard so many ladies grow eloquent. We think, indeed, that she has attained a far juster notion of female than of male excellence; and hope sincerely, for the sake of our sex, that fortune may soon introduce her to some masculine model, from which she may be enabled to draw a worthy companion for Lady Leonora and the rest of her accomplished heroines.

We have not room to present our readers with any of the narrative parts of these volumes; and, in truth, they would not be very intelligible, without a long introductory explanation. As a specimen, we rather give some of Miss Edgeworth's general remarks upon modern female philosophy.

‘A taste for the elegant profligacy of French gallantry was, I remember, introduced into this country before the destruction of the French monarchy. Since that time, some sentimental writers and pretended philosophers of our own and foreign countries have endeavoured to confound all our ideas of morality. To every rule of right they have found exceptions, and on these they have fixed the public attention by adorning them with all the splendid decorations of eloquence; so that the rule is despised or forgotten, and the exception triumphantly established in its stead.’—‘They put extreme cases, in which virtue may become vice, or vice virtue: they exhibit criminal passions in constant connexion with the most exalted, the most amiable virtues. Thus making use of the best feelings of human nature for the worst purposes, they engage pity or admiration perpetually on the side of guilt. Eternally talking of philosophy and philanthropy, they only borrow the terms, to perplex the ignorant and seduce the imaginative. They have their systems and their theories; and in theory they pretend that the general good of society is their sole immutable rule of morality, and in practice they make the variable feelings of each individual the judges  
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of this general good. Their systems disdain all the vulgar virtues, insistent upon some *beau idéal* of perfection or perfectibility. They set common sense and common honesty at defiance. No matter:—their doctrine, so convenient to the passions and soporific to the conscience, can never want partisans; especially by weak and enthusiastic women it is adopted and propagated with eagerness: then they become personages of importance, and zealots in support of their sublime opinions:—and they can read; and they can write; and they can talk; and they can *effect a revolution in public opinion*! I am afraid, indeed, that they can: for of late years we have heard more of sentiment than of principles; more of the rights of woman than of her duties.' Vol. I. p. 21—23.

In another place, the same sagacious person, in making some remarks on one of the sentimental lady's epistles, observes,

'She begins with a bold exclamation on "the misfortune of being born a woman!—*the slave or the outcast of society, condemned to incessant hypocrisy!*" Does she mean modesty? Her manly soul feels it "*the most degrading punishment that omnipotent cruelty could devise, to be imprisoned in a female form.*" From such a masculine spirit some fortitude and magnanimity might be expected; but presently she begs to be pitied, for a broken spirit, and more than female tenderness of heart. I have observed that the ladies, who wish to be men, are usually those who have not sufficient strength of mind to be women.

'It is the common trick of unprincipled women to affect to despise those who conduct themselves with propriety. Prudence they term *coldness*; fortitude, *insensibility*; and regard to the rights of others, *prejudice*. By this perversion of terms they would laugh or sneer virtue out of countenance; and, by robbing her of all praise, they would deprive her of all immediate motive. Conscious of their own degradation, they would lower every thing, and every body, to their own standard: they would make you believe, that those who have not yielded to their passions, are destitute of sensibility; that the love, which is not blazoned forth in glaring colours, is not entitled to our sympathy. The sacrifice of the strongest feelings of the human heart to a sense of duty, is to be called mean or absurd; but the shameless phrenzy of passion, exposing itself to public gaze, is to be an object of admiration. These heroines talk of strength of mind; but they forget that strength of mind is to be shewn in resisting their passions, not in yielding to them.' I. p. 38—40.

'Besides, what confidence can you repose in them? If you should happen to be an obstacle in the way of any of their fancies, do you think that they will respect you or your interests, when they have not scrupled to sacrifice their own to the gratification of their passions? Do you think that the gossamer of sentiment will restrain those whom the strong chains of prudence could not hold?' I. p. 46.

The following is equally just and equally forcible.



‘Why should you, my dear L——, expect such superlative excellence from your Olivia? Do you think that a woman, by losing one virtue, increases the strength of those that remain, as it is said that the loss of one of our senses renders all the others more acute? Do you think that a lady, by yielding to love, and by proving that she has not sufficient resolution or forbearance to preserve the honour of her sex, gives the best possible demonstration of her having sufficient strength of character to rise superior to all the other weaknesses incident to human, and more especially to female nature—envy and jealousy for instance?’  
II. p. 189. 190.

This we think is all very good; but it is not very entertaining; and the readers of novels insist upon being entertained in the first place, and merely submit to as much instruction as can be insinuated into their minds, without putting them to any trouble. There are many gayer things in the book; but we choose to conclude our extracts with the following letter of Leonora to her mother, written immediately after the conviction of her husband's alienation had begun to force itself upon her mind. It is more natural, we think, than Miss Edgeworth's gaieties, and more likely to please those whom she should be most solicitous about pleasing.

‘You know that I am not naturally or habitually of a jealous temper, but I am conscious of having lately felt a disposition to jealousy. I have been spoiled by the excessive attention which my husband paid to me in the first year of our marriage.

‘You warned me not to fancy that he could continue always a lover. I did not, at least I tried not to expect such an impossibility. I was prepared for the change, at least I thought I was: yet now the time, the inevitable time is come, and I have not the fortitude to bear it as I ought. If I had never known what it was to possess his love, I might perhaps be content with his friendship. If I could feel only friendship for him, I should now possibly be happy. I know that I have the first place in his esteem; I do believe—I should be miserable indeed if I did not believe—that I have the first place in his affection. But this affection is certainly different from what it once was. I wish I could forget the difference. No: I retract that wish; however painful the comparison, the recollection of times that are past is delightful to my heart. Yet, my dear mother, if such times are never to return, it would be better for me to forget that they have ever been. It would be wiser not to let my imagination recur to the past, which could then tend only to render me discontented with the present and with the future. The future! how melancholy that word sounds to me! what a dreary length of prospect it brings to my view! How young I am, how many years may I have to live, and how little motive have I left in life! Those which used to act most forcibly upon me, have now scarcely power to move my mind. The sense of duty, it is true, raises me to some degree of exertion: I hope that I do not neglect the edu-  
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cation of the two children whom my poor sister bequeathed to my care. When my mind was at ease, they were my delight; but now I feel that I am rather interrupted than interested by their childish gaiety and amusements.

‘I am afraid that I am growing selfish, and I am sure that I have become shamefully indolent. I go on with certain occupations every day from habit, not from choice; my mind is not in them. I used to flatter myself that I did many things from a sense of duty and of general benevolence, which I am now convinced were done merely from a particular wish to please, and to make myself more and more beloved by the object of my fondest affection. Disappointed in this hope, I sink into indolence, from which the desire to entertain my friends is not sufficient to rouse me. Helen has been summoned away; but I believe I told you that Mr and Mrs F\*\*, whose company is peculiarly agreeable to my taste, and Lady M\*\*\*\*\* and her amiable daughters, and your witty friend \*\*\*\*\* are with us. In such society I am ashamed of being stupid; yet I cannot contribute to the amusement of the company, and I feel surprised at their animation and sprightliness. It seems as if I was looking on at dancers without hearing any music. Sometimes I fear that my silence should be observed, and then I begin to talk without well knowing what I am saying. I confine myself to the most common-place subjects, and hesitate from the dread of saying something quite foreign to the purpose. What must Mr L—— think of my stupidity? But he does not, I believe, perceive it; he is so much occupied with—with other objects.—I am glad that he does not see all that passes in my mind, for he might despise me if he knew that I am so miserable. I did not mean to use so strong an expression; but now it is written, I will not blot it out, lest you should fancy something worse than the reality. I am not, however, yet so weak as to be seriously *miserable*, when I have no real cause to be so. The truth is ————. Now you know this phrase is a tacit confession, that all that has been said before is false. The real truth is———. By my prefacing so long, you may be sure that I have reason to be ashamed of this real truth’s coming out. The real truth is, that I have been so long accustomed to be the first and *only* object of my husband’s thoughts, that I cannot bear to see him think of any thing else. Yes; *things* I can bear, but not *persons*—female persons.—And there is one person here who is so much more agreeable and entertaining than I am, that she engrosses very naturally almost all his attention.’ I. p. 170—176.

Upon the whole, though we think this work inferior, in point of brilliancy and variety, to some of Miss Edgeworth’s former productions, we admit it, without hesitation, to be an ingenious and meritorious performance. We are partial, indeed, we will confess, to Miss Edgeworth; for we think the public very greatly indebted to her; and conceive that she has come nearer the true tone of moral instruction than any other writer we are acquainted with.

Against the greater vices we may declaim from the pulpit or the press; or we may let it alone, exactly as we like best; for no man practises them ignorantly; nor can we tell him more about their consequences than he knows already, and has determined to hazard. But the smaller vices—those which make up the profligacy of an individual and the corruption of a people, are committed by thousands from mere carelessness and vanity, or from example and mistaken opinions; and it is to the correction of these, or of such classes of them as have become epidemic in a society, that a moral writer may apply his exertions with some hopes of success. The first great point is, not to magnify their enormity, and not to be more angry than is permitted to be in real life:—The next is, to appear perfectly well acquainted with the world, in which those things are transacted, and to view with perfect good humour all the indulgences and palliations that they meet with from those who witness and perform them, and then to attack them with ridicule instead of reprobation; to shew how well they may be separated from all that is liberal and easy, and even from all that is brilliant and fantastic; and how much they detract from real comfort, and interfere with every scheme of happiness. It is a rash, and for the most part a vain attempt, to think of appealing to a man's *conscience* against practices which are sanctioned by all around him, and in which he indulges without any distinct feeling of depravity. He will treat all such attempts as stupid preachments, proceeding from despicable ignorance of the world, or ascetic cant and hypocrisy. The only chance is, to attack him on the score of *prudence* or of *pride*; to shew that the practices we mean to condemn are foolish and despicable; that they indicate want of talents or of spirit; and that they are objects of derision and contempt to the more illustrious persons in society. To do this with success, we must neither be too rigorous nor too refined. If we talk either like scrupulous purists, or sentimental innocents, we shall be laughed at and neglected. We must assume a certain familiar and secular tone, and rather endeavour to shew that we are more knowing, than that we are more virtuous than those we address. It is only in this way that we have a chance of being listened to; and if that great point can once be gained, it does appear to us, that by mixing our reasons and our ridicule in just proportion, by making our instances rapid and amusing, and concentrating our proofs into striking and interesting groups, we may produce a considerable effect upon the minds of all who are worth reforming, or give impressions, at least, which after experience may develop into salutary conviction.

Now, it is by assuming this tone, and applying herself to this method of instruction, that we think Miss Edgeworth has deserved

ed well of the community. We do not know any books that are more likely to be useful than most of those she has published ; and while we willingly do all we can to promote their notoriety, we earnestly exhort her to multiply their number. We rather wish she would write more moral tales ; for though it requires some resolution to dissuade the author of *Belinda* from delineating the character of fashionable life, we are satisfied that she will do most good by continuing the former publication. By works like *Belinda* or *Leonora*, she can only hope to correct the vices, or abate the follies of three or four persons of fashion : by improving the plan of the *Moral Tales*, she may promote the happiness and the respectability of many thousands in all ranks of society.

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ART. XVII. *Rhymes on Art, or, the Remonstrance of a Painter. In Two Parts. With Notes, and a Preface, Including Structures on the State of the Arts, Criticism, Patronage, and Public Taste.* By Martin Archer Shee, R. A. The Second Edition, with an Additional Preface and Notes. Murray, London. 1805.

THE poetical part of this work would have justified a more ambitious title than that which the author has bestowed upon it. To us, indeed, its humility appears in some measure affected, and not very consistent with the contempt expressed at the commencement of the preface, for those who cry out for 'quarter' on first coming into the field.

The explanation which Mr Shee offers, may perhaps in some degree secure him from the imputation ; but certain it is, that merit may be sometimes undervalued, by its conscious possessor, from a *latent* expectation, that what he himself subtracts, the good nature of others will add to the amount of his praise. Amongst the motives which induced the author to give his work to the public, he informs us (note, p. 53. of the preface) that a slight seasoning of literary ambition had its share. But we cannot see that the object of this ambition was likely to be accomplished by *any* production corresponding to the title by which he has ushered this effort of his Muse into the world.

Besides the poetical part of this volume, we have two prefaces and notes, neither of which in point of magnitude, bear a very ordinary proportion to the poem which they accompany. The prose composition, however, we have found not the least interesting part of the work ; and with the exception of some passages in which there is an unnecessary repetition of the same thoughts and arguments which the author had previously discussed, we were

not inclined to grudge it that proportion of the volume which it occupies. The reader's patience is indeed somewhat tried by the prolix and not very novel remarks with which he is favoured, upon the feelings and views which accompany an adventure into the fields of literature. But after the author has sufficiently evinced his respect for the public, by a profusion of bows and apologies on his first introduction to their presence, he gradually acquires courage to enter upon the object of his visit. This preparatory talk occupies about ten pages of the preface, at the end of which he discovers it to be full time to request our attention to his business.

Mr Shee is a respectable portrait-painter in London. The laudable design for which, in the present instance, he has laid aside his pencil for the pen, is to intreat, for the arts in his native country, that encouragement and support, on which they must, in every situation, so essentially depend. The author, indeed, sets out with the professed intention of illustrating the *principles* of his art. But we agree with himself in thinking this the least interesting part of the work, which certainly derives its chief importance from the tendency it may have to bring into serious consideration the most eligible public measures for cultivating the genius and exciting the exertions of British artists.

The perfection to which the arts were carried in those few and memorable periods when they were regarded as high and important objects of public support, and particularly under the liberal and magnificent patronage of the Medici family—the numbers who then attained an eminence, to whom their successors have since looked up with a veneration approaching to despair, seems a warrantable ground for us to hope that, under circumstances equally propitious, we might be again enabled to boast of such artists. The history of the arts affords, indeed, some solitary instances of eminent skill acquired in situations the most unfavourable to their cultivation; but this, so far from weakening the argument for liberal encouragement from men of taste and influence, only proves that abilities and perseverance are possessed by some individuals in degrees far beyond what fall to the lot of men in general; and leads us to regret that genius, which, under disadvantages so great, could maintain its activity and fire, had not been supported by the vital influence of that generous patronage which would have raised it to still greater splendour. The place of public patronage, we are perfectly satisfied, can never be supplied with good effect, even to a single artist, by any support which it is in the power of an individual to bestow. To the favour of a single individual, the mind attaches certain unavoidable feelings of dependence, extremely unfavourable to the growth of those elegant mental qualities

lities which go to the formation of real genius. By affording, as is often the case, an exclusive encouragement to particular branches and departments of the arts, individual patronage may also do the most lasting injury to genius. From such causes, how often has it been diverted from its natural channel into one less favourable to its particular bent! a misfortune, against which the unrestrained choice afforded by public patronage would have been a security.

Little advantage, therefore, is to be expected from the zeal or munificence of a few individuals, unless their exertions be seconded by a favourable disposition of the public mind; nor can we hesitate to affirm with Barry, that even the splendid and distinguishing patronage of Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici would have been inadequate to have produced such artists as adorned Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, had there not existed, at the same period, a general diffusion of taste in that country, and a marked disposition to view both the artist and his work with that cordial esteem and enlightened admiration, which afford the highest stimulus to further improvement. Where this disposition is wanting, the arts cannot but languish and degenerate. From our entire conviction, indeed, that the highest influence exerted in their behalf must in a great measure be ineffectual, where the arts do not receive from the public a similar cordiality of reception, or where the general taste has taken a vulgar and contracted direction, we have our fears if any pecuniary provision which the British Government could devise, would certainly be followed by those happy effects which Mr Shee appears to anticipate as their undoubted result. The most important requisite toward the accomplishment of this desirable object, would be still in a great measure wanting. The taste of the nation cannot be suddenly created or reformed by any local establishment whatever. But though we are not quite so sanguine as Mr Shee, as to the immediate effects of such an establishment as he seems to look forward to, we would not be understood as insinuating that the consequences which might be expected to flow from it, are too inconsiderable to render the experiment worthy of trial. If any such experiment shall be judged proper, we trust it will be readily felt and acknowledged, that the probability of a satisfactory issue is diminished or increased in proportion to the liberality and extent of the scale on which it may be conducted. A national gallery for the reception of pictures, to illustrate the exploits of British heroism, was a proposal, if we mistake not, first made by Mr Opie. This plan, more than any other of the kind we have heard of, seems worthy the attention of government, as it would serve the double purpose of rewarding and encouraging the exertions of two classes in society,

ciety, on whose celebrity that of their country has no small dependence.

Mr Shee remonstrates, and we fear with too much reason, against that illiberality which has for years past characterized the mode of conducting the Royal Academy.

'This establishment—which ought to be national and comprehensive; which should include within its walls every thing that is essential, expedient, or inviting to the progress of the student; which should rest on a foundation worthy of the first, the richest, the most powerful, the most generous people on earth; and which, by foreigners, is supposed to be a splendid example of public magnificence—derives its income from the disinterested labours of artists; possesses not a single original example of the old masters; and, excepting the advantage of apartments at Somerset Place, has not for many years received the smallest assistance from the state.' p. 47.

Such is the unpromising condition of an institution which inspired its first president, and brightest ornament, with the hope 'that the present age might vie in arts with that of Leo the Tenth, and that the dignity of the dyeing art might be revived under the reign of George the Third.' Whether the effects of the British institution will better correspond to the hopes it has already excited, the issue will evince. Our information as to the precise nature of this institution, is not sufficiently explicit to enable us to form any opinion of its merits. We can only state, that Mr Shee is not singular in the conviction, 'that every thing liberal and munificent is intended,' and in the hope 'that every thing wise and efficacious will be the result.'

The establishment of this institution, it appears, took place in the interval between the publication of the first and the second edition of the work before us. The event certainly operates as no small relief to the spirits of the author. They before laboured under a depression which rendered him apparently partial to the contemplation of evils which generally meet our view, in full length portraits at least as *large as life*.

'Every person,' says he, 'interested for the fine arts, or concerned for the reputation of his country, must perceive, with more than regret, at the present moment, a growing disregard to the fate of the one, which cannot fail materially to affect the splendour of the other. All patriotic interest in the cultivation of British genius appears to be at an end; those who should be the patrons of artists have ceased to be even their employers;—*cedant arma togæ*;—the painter gives way to the picture-dealer; they who possess taste are indifferent; and they who pretend to it are hostile.' Pref. p. x.

This tone is discoverable through the whole performance, except in a few of the passages which are added in this edition, in which we find this dark and melancholy scene beginning to brighten,

brighten. He now tells us, that ' liberal ideas are abroad,' and that ' the seeds of protection are sown in a congenial soil.' It is the institution to which we before alluded that has effected so great a change in our author's views. That this change in his colouring is warranted by the cause, we do not pretend to question; but we doubt if the dark side of the picture be so true a representation of the reality. Though we readily agree that the encouragement given to the arts in this country has hitherto been less than their wellwishers must have desired, yet the neglect has not, of late, been so very great as to threaten their ' sinking under difficulties which neither zeal, industry, nor genius, can withstand,' (p. xix. Pref.) If this were the case, how comes it that the author ' has no hesitation to assert that, from the productions of living genius at this moment in Great Britain, might be produced examples of excellence, in every department of the art, that would adorn the noblest collections, and reflect honour on any age or nation?' (p. xxxiv. Pref.)

Amongst the causes which have contributed to retard the improvement of our national taste, and of consequence the progress of the arts, the author justly lays much stress on the want of pictures in our public buildings, and particularly on the ecclesiastical *law* which has expelled them out of our churches.

' No patriot acts adorn our public halls;  
No gospel glories grace religion's walls;  
No martial pomps in pictur'd lore allure;  
In taste alone is public spirit poor.'

It is obvious, indeed, that, without a more easy and frequent access to good pictures, the possession of true taste and enlightened relish for the art, is as little to be expected in the nation at large, as a knowledge of refined architecture in him who has rarely seen a higher specimen than his employer's cotton-mill: not that the nation cannot boast of none who have successfully cultivated a taste for this art, but that the difficulties which obstruct the access to it are such as to confine the circle to those who have better opportunities, or more zeal than men in general possess, though, in all other respects, sufficiently qualified for the attainment. It is thus that, instead of competent judges, whose opinions would be invaluable, the artist has so frequently to encounter the petulance which accompanies a little learning.

Whatever ground there might once have been to authorise our reformers to interdict, in our churches, those elegant and interesting ornaments which the arts supply, we cannot but suppose with our author, though we do not here intend to discuss the merits of the question, that, at the present day, there are as strong arguments to be produced to refute the propriety of this *law*, as could be urged in its defence.



'We cannot conceive any more promising *public measure* than an alteration in this respect, for effecting a favourable change in the aspect of the arts—a measure which, while it would afford an ample field for the emulation of such as have successfully devoted their labour to the cultivation of them, would, at the same time, furnish a school for the student, and an infallible source of improvement to the public taste.

Another circumstance operating in hostility to the British arts, and on which the author lays great stress, is the blind avidity manifested for pictures, good or bad, which bear the names of the old masters. How often are the observations expressed in the following quotation from a note (p. 76.) exemplified in the conduct of many who are looked up to as the connoisseurs of the age.

'The name of a great master is a passport through all the outposts of criticism; Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Correggio—are sounds with which all the beauties of the art are associated. The question is not so much the excellence, as the authenticity of the work; the latter established, the former follows of course; and the contented enthusiastic forgets, in the fervour of his zeal, that the greatest genius proceeds at first in ignorance, and rises late from mediocrity; forgets that the accomplished master he admires was once an unskilful scholar, and often bestows, on the abortive efforts of his inexperience, that applause which should be reserved for the best productions of his maturity.'

It cannot be denied, that by this unenlightened admiration, 'much of the wealth of individuals, disposeable for the objects of *'virtù,'* is directed into channels from which the native arts cannot derive much advantage. The gains of the artist must suffer a temporary abridgement; but the arts themselves may, in the end, suffer less than our author apprehends, if, by the late inundation of foreign pictures, we gain among the rubbish any considerable addition to our national stock of such specimens as can with justice be denominated 'the best which genius can boast.' (Pref. p. xviii.)

Connected with this indiscriminate rage for the works of the old master, is the neglect which living merit frequently suffers. This neglect Mr Shee particularly instances in the striking case of Richard Wilson, whom he calls the most accomplished landscape-painter this country ever produced.

————— 'Kind too late,  
Relenting fortune weeps o'er Wilson's fate;  
Remorseful owns her blindness; and to fame  
Consigns with sorrow his illustrious name.' Part I. l. 115.

He again recurs to this subject, (Part I. l. 299.), and offers a caution to the candidates for *graphic* fame, which, if well founded to its full extent, would be a truly mortifying picture, both of the discernment and liberality of this nation.

'Nor

'Nor yet, too sanguine, fondly deem that fame  
 Awaits to crown your triumphs, and proclaim,  
 That honour still on excellence attends,  
 And praise in clouds at Merit's shrine ascends :  
 Foes, pleas'd to crush coeval worth, combine,  
 And censure circulates the critic's coin ;  
 The modern's claim fastidious taste denies,  
 Or, while he lives, reluctant grants the prize ;  
 Fame lurks behind, till, Merit's death delay'd,  
 And having lost the substance,—crows the shade.'

Hitherto we have spoken chiefly of the reasoning or design of the work before us ; but its execution is also deserving of some attention. The author has great command of language, and very considerable powers of fancy. His taste, indeed, is not always perfectly correct ; and he is apt to run riot among clusters of metaphors, and to heap up his tropes and figures till the reader is rather bewildered than enlightened ; But there is a force, a richness, and a spirit about his compositions, which makes amends for all this ; and places him in a station, both as a prose writer and as a poet, which very few authors have been able to attain by a first publication. The following passage will give an idea of the general tone and cast of his introductory dissertation.

'It is a mistake, unworthy of an enlightened government, to conceive that the arts, left to the influence of ordinary events, turned loose upon society, to fight and scramble, in the rude and revolting contest of coarser occupations, can ever arrive at that perfection which contributes so materially to the permanent glory of a state.

'This is the true handicraft consideration of the subject—the warehouse wisdom of a dealer and chapman, who would make the artist a manufacturer, and measure his works by the yard. The arts treated commercially,—intrusted to that vulgar and inadequate impression of their importance, which is to be found in the mass of society, never did, and never can flourish in any country. The principle of trade, and the principle of the arts, are not only dissimilar, but incompatible. Profit is the impelling power of the one—praise, of the other. *Employment* is the *paladium vite* of the first—*encouragement*, of the last. These terms are synonymous in the ordinary avocations of life ; but in the pursuits of taste and genius, they differ as widely in meaning, as coldness from kindness—as the sordid commerce of mechanics, from the liberal intercourse of gentlemen.' Pref. p. xx.-xxi.

'Whether our artists may not "get their bread in decent competence" from the profits of panoramas, or the projects of printfellers—by drudging in our modern manufactories of frontispiece and vignette—officiating as the decoy-ducks of sporting bookfellers, and luring the public eye to works

"In which the pictures for the page alone?" POPE.

These are questions, which, whatever importance may be attached to them,

them, the author certainly had no intention to discuss. Neither did he design to plead the cause of imbecility, or ask honours and rewards for those who have shown neither ambition nor merit.—The painter who pursues his art as a trade, and thinks when he is *paid* that he is rewarded, should certainly be content if he is allowed, on equal terms, to play at the round game of profit and loss, and shuffle his cards with the contentious crowd.

‘Who follow fortune through her filthy maze.’

The author's observations were directed to higher points. It is not for the cultivation of mediocrity he contends, but the production of excellence; not that the artist may live in ease and luxury, but that the *arts* may flourish in pride and perfection; that an object may be held out to the ambition, not to the avarice of the painter; and that he may be fired to such exertions as shall immortalize his name, and shed a glory on his country.’ Pref. p. l.—lii.

The following affords an example of that disorderly style into which he is sometimes hurried by an unruly imagination.

‘The balance of trade is indeed (to speak commercially) completely against us; and although the hardy progeny of commerce and manufacture (upon whose rough and lusty limbs the cumbrous swathings of mistaken affection act but as the fetters of obstruction and restraint) are cautiously cradled up in bounties and protecting duties—the tender offspring of taste are left helpless, naked, and exposed.

‘Their situation appears a paradox; and, like the Spaniards after the discovery of the treasures of the New World, they are impoverished by an importation of wealth. So many rich galleons of art have been brought home from the *Peru* of picture-dealers, that we disdainfully turn from our native productions; and even an ingot from the British mine is considered a metal too base for the circulation of taste.

‘Our critics are transformed to antiquaries, with whom every thing is prized that is proved to be old; and the sterling currency of the day, though stamped in the mint of genius, is cried down in favour of rusty coins, and Queen Anne's farthings.’ Pref. xxx.—xxxi.

This is more like poetry than prose; and the poetry has the same excellences and defects. There is a good deal of spirit in the following reply to those who maintain that there is something unfavourable to the arts, in the climate and physical constitution of Britain.

‘Insult! to think the land where Shakspeare sprung,  
The heav'n *he* breath'd—where seraph Milton sung! ..  
In strains more sweet than erst from fabled shell  
Of Orpheus old, or fam'd Amphion, fell:  
Where Pope, where Dryden swept the sounding lyre,  
With Maro's melody, and Homer's fire!  
Where Science, (long on weak Conjecture's wing,  
A thwarted falcon, flutt'ring from the string),

Leop'd

Loos'd by her Newton's hand, first shot on high,  
 And perch'd amid the mansions of the sky :  
 Insult ! to think this garden of the globe,  
 This spangle shining bright on Nature's robe ;  
 From finer joys in cold seclusion plac'd,  
 A kindless clime beyond the beam of taste !  
 On wings of fire sustain'd, th' immortal mind,  
 Nor clime controuls, nor fog, nor frost can bind ;  
 Where freedom, man's most cheering sunshine, glows,  
 Whether on Lybian sands, or Zemblan snows ;  
 Where life exults, with each bold feeling fraught,  
 And Fancy fearless springs the mine of Thought !" p. 7—8.

The same thought is afterwards pursued with equal animation.

' What though ! in Greece, when Ammon's glory sway'd,  
 When prostrate Rome Augustus' power obey'd,  
 In latter days, when Leo's lustre shone,  
 And gorgeous Louis grac'd the Gallic throne ;  
 What though ! like rockets from the hand of time,  
 Through life's long gloom, shot sparkling and sublime,  
 Those meteor ages of mankind were given,  
 To mark with cluster'd stars the mental heaven,  
 And pour their blaze on earth's astonish'd view,  
 When Freedom's cloud-encompass'd orb withdrew !  
 Britain, for thee ! a brighter age expands,  
 Bless'd rock, on which the church of Freedom stands !  
 For thee remains to prove what radiant fires  
 Gild the clear heaven, where liberty inspires ;  
 To shew what springs of bounty from her hand,  
 As gush'd the rock at Moses' high command,  
 O'er Art's impoverish'd plains refreshing flow,  
 And cheer the fainting tribes of Taste below.' p. 41—43.

The following picture of Hogarth we select from a considerable number.

' Hogarth, with thee ! satiric Humour fled,  
 Proclaims our graphic moralist is dead ;  
 Who, Sampson-like, in conscious might secure,  
 Burst the strong bonds that meaner minds endure ;  
 Disdain'd the beaten track, the common crown,  
 And forc'd an untried passage to renown :  
 To nature true his sportive pencil mov'd,  
 Taught while it trifled, pleas'd while it reprov'd :  
 Struck by the harlot's woes, with shame oppress'd,  
 Reviving virtue wins the wanton breast ;  
 No more the midnight scene to riot warm,  
 The rake reviews his *progress*, and reforms.' p. 15—18.

Though there be some coarseness, there is a good deal of power and satirical effect in the following passage.

' Behold !

Behold ! how pleas'd the conscious critic sneers,  
 While circling boobies shake their asses' ears ;  
 Applaud his folly, and, to feed his pride,  
 Bray forth abuse on all the world beside :  
 Hear him, ye gods ! harangue of schools and styles,  
 In pilfer'd scraps from Walpole and De Piles !  
 Direct the vain spectator's vacant gaze,  
 Drill his dull sense, and teach him where to praise ;  
 Of every toy, some tale of wonder frame,  
 How this from Heav'n, or Ottoboni came ;  
 How that, long pendant on plebeian wall,  
 Or lumber'd in some filthy broker's stall,  
 Lay, lost to fame, till by his taste restor'd,  
 Behold the gem—shrin'd, curtain'd, and ador'd.' p. 88. 89.

The next is more turbulent and outrageously abusive, though indicating an ardent and vigorous imagination, which might carry the author far up the steep of glory, if reined by a more practised hand.

Wherever power or pride, or wealth keep court,  
 Behold this fulsome, fawning race resort ;  
 A motley group—a party-colour'd pack,  
 Of knave and fool—of quidnunc and of quack,  
 Of critic sops, insipid, cold, and vain,  
 Done in the drip of some poor painter's brain ;  
 Dabblers in science—dealers in virtù,  
 And sycophants of every form and hue.  
 Low artists too, a busy, babbling fry,  
 That frisk and wriggle in a great man's eye,  
 Feed on his smiles, and simp'ring at his side,  
 Catch the cold drops that flatter's thaws from pride ;  
 A cunning kind of fetch-and-carry fools,  
 The scum of taste, that bubbles up in schools ;  
 Savealls of art, that shed a glimmering ray,  
 And burn the snuffs their betters cast away.' p. 91. 92.

Upon the whole, we think very well both of Mr Shee's cause and of his talents ; though we are of opinion that he has been a little too warm in support of the one, and a little too rash and intemperate in his display of the other. We desire more of his acquaintance, and have no doubt of his improvement.

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'THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
JULY 1806.

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ART. I. *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation, with brief Notices of the Arts and Sciences connected with them; containing the Commercial Transactions of the British Empire and other Countries, from the earliest Accounts to the Meeting of the Union-Parliament in January 1801, &c. &c. &c.* By David Macpherson. 4 vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1805. Mundell & Son, &c.

THERE are few books of reference, whose utility has been more generally acknowledged, than that of Anderson's *History of Commerce*; and perhaps, since its first appearance, there has not been a single writer on any tract of modern history, who has not been led to consult it, and to derive from it some part of his materials. The author, who, during forty years of a long life, had been employed in the service of the South-Sea Company, possessed the means of becoming intimately acquainted with the most complicated commercial concerns of the British empire during that period; and his private studies being naturally directed to the subjects of his daily occupation, he gradually collected the most extensive and valuable store of materials that books could furnish for the economical history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But this elaborate work extended only to the year 1760; for which reason it was thought adviseable, some years ago, to publish a second edition, with a continuation, the merits of which it is not necessary for us to discuss. We shall therefore only observe, that, by a constant adherence to this plan, the records of our commerce would have shortly become as voluminous as those of our Parliamentary proceedings, and that a trader of the nineteenth century, who should have been desirous of learning the history of his predecessors, must have sacrificed no small portion of his time and capital in the acquisition of such information.

We therefore apprehend, that it was become very necessary to undertake a revision of the whole work; to prune whatever was redundant; to bring together, under the form of tables, much scattered information respecting the prices of commodities and the value of coins; to substitute, in some places, the language of our present political economy for the obsolete jargon of the old commercial system; and, above all, to reform the numerous errors in the ancient history, which had been apparently compiled from very incorrect translations, without any reference to original authorities. There are few editors, perhaps, who would not have been appalled by the labour of such a revision; yet it has been undertaken and completed by Mr Macpherson, to whom the learned world has been already indebted for a most valuable edition of Wyntown's Chronicle, and for his Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, and whose well-earned reputation for scrupulous fidelity cannot fail to excite a favourable prepossession in the mind of the reader.

The work, in its present form, consists of four large and closely printed quarto volumes, the first of which, comprehending the history of commerce from the earliest times to the discovery of America in 1492, is entirely written by the present editor. The second, with about one half of the third, comprising the interval between that period and the year 1760, is a republication of Mr Anderson's text, with the retrenchment of some superfluities, and the insertion of some omissions: and the remainder of the work, extending to the first meeting of the Union-Parliament, is composed by Mr Macpherson, principally from documents preserved in the various public offices, which he seems to have ransacked and scrutinized with such indefatigable patience as the most ardent zeal for the interests of commerce could alone inspire.

It must be obvious, that the analysis of such a history, if it were possible, would be wholly uninteresting; for who will read the abstract of a dictionary? It is true, that the successive articles of information are not disposed under the successive letters of the alphabet; but a strict chronological series, combined with abrupt geographical transitions, produces the same effect; and the separate facts are most effectually disjoined from those which precede or follow them. Here, therefore, is no unity of interest, no subordination of events, no room for delineations of character, nor for the artifices and ornaments of historical composition. The judgement, and even the taste of the writer, can only be evinced by his success in conveying information through the medium of the smallest possible number of words; not only when he is narrating facts, but also when he is discussing their authenticity, or that of their dates, or when he is examining the comparative exactness

actness and credibility of the original authors, to whom he must refer his readers for a more ample elucidation of his statements, it is his duty to be concise, sententious, and even dry; because, however ready we may be to give up the reins of our imagination to those who are willing to amuse us by a connected narrative, we are impatient of any obstacle to the gratification of our accidental inquiries; and few men can bear a tedious answer to a short question. It therefore only remains for us to enable our readers, by means of a few extracts, to estimate the merit of Mr Macpherfon's labours: with respect to Mr Anderson's original work, the opinion of the public is already settled.

As a first example of our author's manner, both in the text and notes, we will take his account of the great naval expedition of the Carthaginians, which he places about 500 years A. C.

' We learn from Strabo (L. iii. p. 265.) that the Phœnicians of Gadir (Cadiz) were the first who traded to the Cassiterides, and that they carefully concealed the route to them from all other navigators. It follows, of course, that these islands were unknown to the Carthaginians, for at least some time. The Carthaginians, vexed to see themselves outdone in any point of commercial knowledge or enterprize, desirous of sharing in the advantageous trade of the Cassiterides, and eager to discover the whole extent of the world, ordered two voyages of discovery to be undertaken at the same time. They seem to have known nothing of the situation of the country they wished to find, except that it was beyond the straits in the ocean; but as all islands, accessible to the ancient navigators, must have been in sight of other lands, they concluded, that by exploring the coast of the ocean both northward and southward, it must certainly be discovered. Therefore, they ordered Himilco to direct his course northward from the straits, and Hanno to pursue the opposite course along the western shore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both published accounts of their discoveries. That of Himilco was extant in the fifth century, when some extracts of it were inserted in a geographical poem by Rufus Festus Avienus; from which we learn, that he arrived in less than four months at the islands of the Oestrymnides, (which were two days sail from the large sacred island inhabited by the *Hibernians*, near to which was the island of the *Albions*), where they found copious mines of tin and lead, and a high-spirited and commercial people, who used boats covered with leather. This description, though the position of the islands is described in a manner remarkably obscure, answers to no other country so well as our *British Islands*; and it is extremely probable, that Himilco established a Carthaginian colony, and settled the first commercial intercourse between Britain and Carthage.\*

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\* Dionysius Periegetes, (v. 563.) describes the islands of the Hesperides (which he seemingly places near to Britain) as 'the native country

\* The object of Hanno's voyage being to make discoveries, and establish colonies on the west coast of Africa, 30,000 people embarked with him in 60 ships of 50 oars each. \* On various parts of the coast he founded at least seven towns, or trading ports, whereof the furthest, reckoned as many days course beyond the straits as Carthage was within them, was on a small island lying in a bay, to which he gave the name of Kerné (or Cerné), and apparently that which is now called Mogadore. † From Kerné, Hanno proceeded southward along the coast

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country of tin, inhabited by the wealthy sons (or descendants) of the illustrious Iberians, who were apparently the people described by Skylax and Avienus as living near Gadir, beside the lesser river Iberus, now Rio Tinto, in Andalusia. From the ancient Iberians, Tacitus conjectures the Silures (the old inhabitants of South Wales) to be descended. (*Vit. Agric. c. ii.*) The chief island of the cluster near the south-west extremity of Britain, is called Sigdelis in Antonine's Maritime Itinerary, Silura by Solinus, (*c. 24.*) Sillinæ by Sulpicius Severus, (*L. ii.*) and is now called Silley. Avienus says, (*Ora maritima, v. 113.*) that the Tartesians (so he calls the people of Gadir) were accustomed to trade to the Oestrymnides; and he then adds, that the husbandmen or planters (*coloni*) and people of Carthage also went to them, which seems to infer the establishment of a permanent colony. It appears extremely probable, that Hesperides, Oestrymnides, and Cassiterides, are but different names of the same cluster of islands, the chief one of which got the name of Silura, Silleni, or Silley, which name now comprehends the whole: and, if so, Avienus perfectly agrees with Strabo, who says, that the first voyages were made to these islands from Gadir.

\* Of Hanno's voyage, we have only a Greek translation, or rather abridgement. We may therefore suspect the number of people to be erroneous, as it is not probable that so many would embark before the coast was explored, the stations for the new colonists chosen, and the plan of the emigration and settlement duly arranged.

† Polybius, who sailed along the coast, describes Kerné (*ap. Plin. L. vi. c. 31.*) as opposite to Mount Atlas, and about a mile from the main land; and with him Ptolemy nearly agrees, who plainly places Kerné north from the Fortunate Islands or Canaries. These marks, and the consideration, that the Carthaginians would probably not make as much *real* distance on an unknown as on a known coast, may almost fix the much contested position of Kerné, which can answer to no other place so well as the little island of Mogadore, the harbour of which is a small bay between it and the coast of Morocco. It is wonderful, that men of learning, with the clear evidence of Polybius and Ptolemy, and some other ancient authors before their eyes, should let their fancy run so wild, as to take the considerable island of St Thomas, almost under the equinoctial line, or Madeira, also an island of some extent, and too far from the coast to be reached by the ancient navigators, or even the

coast inhabited by the negroes for twenty-six days; during which, according to the computation of a day's course by Herodotus, he may have run 1820 miles, or 1300 as Skylax calculates the course. In his way, he discovered some islands, two days course from the Continent, called Gorillas by Hanno's interpreters, and, by later writers, Gorgadas, and apparently the same which have been also called the Hesperides, the Fortunate islands, and the Canaries, \* being the only islands of any consequence visible from the main island of Africa.' p. 52, 53, 54.

As the subject of ancient commerce had hitherto been very superficially treated, Mr Macpherson is compelled, in almost every page of his first volume, to compare the reports of the ancient writers, obscured as they are by a vague and imperfect geography, with the more accurate relations of modern travellers, and thus to establish, one by one, the links of a chain of facts which it is not always possible to connect. Hence, we often find a single note, or a few sentences of text, which are evidently the result of long and painful research. Of this we might easily multiply instances from the remoter periods of the history; but we prefer the following quotations from the middle ages, because they possess a more popular interest, and afford a few authentic documents derived from a source not often consulted, on topics to which modern historians are, very wisely, much more attentive than their predecessors. They occur under the year A. D. 500.

\* The following particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of the British islands beyond the limits of the Roman conquests, (to whom I have scarcely had an opportunity of paying any attention hitherto), are chiefly collected from the ancient biographers of the Saints, almost the only writers of the western world in the dark ages, and brought together as throwing some glimmering of light upon the small portion of arts, manufactures, trade, and navigation, existing in these remote regions about this time. †

† The Irish still retained the custom noted by Solinus, of adorning their

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vast island of Madagascar, on the *east* side of Africa, for Kerné, a small island of a few furlongs in circumference, on the *west* side of that Continent. But, unfortunately, men of great learning are sometimes very bad geographers. In the year 1765, the Emperor of Morocco appointed Mogadore to be the port for the foreign trade of his dominions.

\* Some modern authors suppose the Bissago or Bissao islands, near the Rio-Grande, and others, the island of St Thomas, to be the Gorillas.

† Patric flourished from A. D. 432, the year of his mission, to 493; Brigit about 500; and Columba from 522 to 597. The lives here quoted were written very soon after their own time, and may be trusted in every thing but the miracles.



their swords and daggers with the polished teeth of animals. (*Adamnani Vita Columbæ, MS. Bibl. Reg. 8. D. ix. L. iii. c. 39.*) The manufacture of swords and other weapons was, in very early times, practised in every part of the British islands.

• The luxury of riding in chariots was common in Britain and Ireland. (*Patricii Synod. can. 9. Cogitof Vita Brigite, ap. Miffingham, cc. 6, 7, 11. Adamn. L. i. c. 99; L. ii. c. 43.*)

• A common article of dress was a cloak or plaid, (peplum, pallium, fagum) adorned with a variety of colours, which was probably of home manufacture. (*Adamn. L. iii. c. 1.*) They had fine linen, which, with other articles of sumptuous dress, may be presumed to have been imported. The bodies of the dead, at least those of eminent rank, were wrapped in fine linen. (*Patric. Synod. can. 9. Cogitos. c. ii. Adamn. L. iii. c. 26.*) Decency of dress was recommended to all, but particularly to clergymen and their wives. (*Patric. Synod. can. 6.*)

• In the churches and abbays there were bells, which the pious and industrious abbots sometimes made with their own hands. (*Vita Gillæ, quoted in Ufferii Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 905. Edit. 1639. Adamn. Lib. i. c. ii.; L. ii. c. 23.*)

• Water-mills were introduced in Britain by the Romans, as appears by the remains of a Roman mill lately discovered at Manchester. (*Whitaker's Hist. of Manch. p. 315.*); and, as they are frequently mentioned during the Saxon period, we may be assured, that an engine so very useful, and also of such simple construction, was never allowed to go out of use. About this time they were also used in Ireland. (*Cogitos. c. 13.*)

• Vessels made of glass, for drinking out of, were used, even in the extremity of Britain, by the northern Picts\*; but whether they were manufactured by themselves, or imported, we are not told. (*Adamn. Lib. ii. c. 32.*) We have reason to believe that the art of manufacturing glass was known, to the southern Britons, before the invasion of the Romans.

• Ale was a common drink, and made at home. Wine was also used upon some occasions, and most probably imported. (*Cogitos. c. 4.—Adamn. L. ii. c. 1.*)

• The natives of Ireland, and the north-west coast of Britain, and the adjacent islands, caught salmon and other fish with nets, (*Adamn. L. ii. cc. 17, 18. L. iii. c. 25.*) But they knew nothing of the vast advantage to be derived from an extensive fishery, and only caught fish for their own use.

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\* It is proper to observe, that Cumin, who died in the year 699, and was the original writer of the life of Columba, has not a word of the story containing the notice of the drinking-glass. It is not known in what year Adamnau wrote his greatly enlarged copy of Cumin's life of Columba. The manufacture of glass was introduced among the English of Northumberland in the year 674.

\* Though the leather boats of the Britons chiefly attracted the attention of foreigners, as being unusual with them, we must not suppose they had no others. They certainly learned to build vessels of wood while under the Roman dominion, if they had them not before. About this time, even in the remote Western islands, they had long vessels built of oak planks; and they all carried at least one sail. Some of the vessels, covered with leather, were sufficient to go long voyages; at least as far as from Ireland to Orkney, and even to advance as far into the Northern Ocean as a run of fourteen days, with full sail before a south wind.\* (*Adamn. L. i. c. 1. L. ii. cc. 42, 45.*)

† I may here also observe, that instruments and trinkets made of gold, some of them of considerable weight, were by no means uncommon in Ireland, as appears from the great numbers of them found in various parts of the country, though they probably belong to ages prior to any authentic history. † As civilized nations do not carry the precious metals to countries in an inferior state of civilization, it seems more probable that the gold was found in mines, of which there are still some vestiges in Ireland, than that it was imported; though we should even suppose with Tacitus, (*Vita Agric. c. 24.*) that Ireland had a greater foreign trade than Britain.—Vol. I. p. 223, 224.

Such notices concerning the manners of ancient nations, however short, are always interesting to those who wish to trace, in history, the progress of mankind towards improvement and civilization. For this reason, the following short extract, (from Vol. I. p. 391.) respecting the manners of the Italians, about A. D. 1238, may be worth copying.

\* Their food was very moderate, or rather scanty. The common people had meat only three times in a week: their dinner was pot herbs, boiled with meat; their supper, the cold meat left from dinner. The husband and wife ate out of the same dish; and they had but one or two cups in the house. They had no candles made of tallow or wax; but a torch, held by one of the children, or a servant, gave them light at supper. Many had no wine in the summer. Their wine-cellars were small; and their barns were not large. The men, whose chief pride was in

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\* It appears that some wrong-headed monks, either by stress of weather, or by design, (for the perfection of religion was supposed to consist in rendering themselves useless, by withdrawing from society) had actually sailed to Iceland, where they settled, it being most probably impossible for them to find their way back again; and their books, in the Irish language, bells, &c. were found there by the first colonists from Norway. (*Arif Scheua de Islandia, c. 2*)

† See *Archæologia Britann. V. ii. No. 3. V. iii. p. 555. Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibern. No. xiii.* One gold fibula of ten ounces, (represented in Plate vi. No. 2.) was sold to a goldsmith, who informed Colonel Vallancey that he had melted down several of that form, one of which weighed sixteen ounces.

their arms and horses, wore caps made with iron-scales, and cloaks made of leather, without any covering, or of woollen cloth without leather. The women wore jackets, of a stuff called *pignolate*, with gowns of linen; and their head-dresses were very simple. Very few people had any gold or silver on their clothes. Those who possessed a small sum of money were thought rich; and the homely dress of the women required but small marriage-portions. The nobles were proud of living in towers; and thence the cities were filled with those fortified dwellings. (*Riccobaldi Ferrariensis, Hist. imper. ap. Muratori Script. V. v. col. 128.*)

We shall now add another extract, for the sake of its singularity. Every reader is acquainted with the numerous advantages derived to modern navigators from the invaluable invention of the mariner's compass; the want of which compelled the Phœnician, the Greek, and the early Italian navigators, to creep from headland to headland, without venturing to quit the shore, excepting when an island, so near as to be distinctly seen from the continent, offered them an equally secure retreat from the violence of an accidental tempest. Yet we know that the bolder Norwegians, though exposed to far greater perils from the habitual inclemency of a high northern latitude, and from the frequent cloudiness of their atmosphere, were in the habit of attempting, and often with success, a voyage of some length upon the ocean. It would be unjust to tax with temerity a spirit of enterprise which so often accomplished its object. We must therefore suppose that a patient observation of natural phenomena, attention to the flight of migratory birds, and to the direction of currents, and some few simple devices which, being no longer necessary, are now forgotten, must have served as substitutes for the more valuable resources of modern navigation. One of these devices is recorded by Mr Macpherson in a note, vol. I. p. 261.

Arngrim Jonas tells us, that when Flok, a famous Norwegian navigator, was going to set out from Shetland for Iceland, then called Gardarsholm, he took on board some crows, *because the mariner's compass was not yet in use*. When he thought he had made a considerable part of his way, he threw up one of his crows, which, seeing land ahead, flew to it; whence Flok, concluding that he was nearer to Shetland (perhaps rather Faroe) than any other land, kept on his course for some time, and then sent out another crow, which, seeing no land at all, returned to the vessel. At last, having run the greatest part of his way, another crow was sent out by him, which, seeing land ahead, immediately flew for it; and Flok, following his guide, fell in with the east end of the island. Such was the simple mode of steering their course, practised by those bold navigators of the stormy northern ocean. The ancient natives of Taprobané (Ceylon) used the same expedient when skimming along the tranquil surface of the Indian Ocean. (*Plinius Hist. Nat. Lib. vi. c. 22.*)

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We shall here take leave of the first volume; conceiving that the extracts already given are sufficiently ample to answer our purpose, by exhibiting a fair specimen of the author's manner. The third part, commencing with the accession of his present Majesty, and occupying 950 closely printed quarto pages, is, of course, far more interesting to the statesman, to the political economist, and even to the common reader; but as the facts which it contains are, in general, familiarly known, and are of necessity much compressed, very few of them would appear to advantage in the insulated state in which alone we could exhibit them. The following anecdote, however, (in vol. iv. p. 401.) is a striking exception to this remark; it is perfectly new to us; and we sincerely wish to give it all the publicity which it deserves.

' 1797. The manufacturing interest of Great Britain sustained a very heavy, and (as it has since turned out) perhaps an irreparable loss, in the death of Mr Stephen Dolignou, the ingenious inventor of a highly improved kind of weaving machinery, adapted to the manufacture of all kinds of stuffs, from the coarsest to the finest, and from the narrowest to the broadest. The looms may be wrought by the power of wind, water, steam, weights, or animal strength; and they differ from all other weaving machinery in possessing (if I may be allowed the phrase) an instinctive capacity of knowing when any thread of the warp or weft is broken; in which case the loom, wherein such an accident has happened, ceases its motion, whilst the others, actuated by the same moving power, proceed in their work; thereby calling upon the person attending it to repair the damage, which being done, it immediately goes on as before. Six of these looms may with ease be attended by a girl of fifteen years of age, or by an infirm or aged person of either sex.

' This invention possesses the important advantage over most other species of machinery for the abridgement of labour, that the general use of it can give no alarm to the people engaged in the manual fabrication of the goods which may be made by it, if the art is laid open to the public; for a weaver, who has been accustomed to work upon one loom, may, as the expense of the machinery is moderate, easily set up six looms, to be wrought by weights or other moving power, and immediately furnish six times as much cloth at half the former price of weaving, and even three times as much as before. His increased profits may very soon enable him to set up six more, to be attended by his wife or his children; and so he may proceed till he is master of a great factory. Thus, the use of this machinery, instead of threatening them with loss of employment, may, in the very first instance, be a blessing, and a fund of wealth to the British operative weavers, who need only such assistance to counteract the enormous expense of living, to enable them to become the manufacturers for the whole world.

' This most useful invention, which crowns and completes what Arkwright's machinery began, would ere now have enabled the British manufacturer

manufacturer to bring cotton from its raw state, as it dropt from the weighing engine, to a finished web fit for immediate use, all by the agency of quick and cheap-working machinery, had the inventor been spared to establish his works on a scale sufficiently extensive. But it pleased God to take him off (February 7th, 1797) soon after he had brought his machinery to a state of perfection satisfactory to himself. And this friend of mankind, who, if he had flourished in ancient times, would have been honoured with statues and altars, and been ranked with Mercurius Trismegistus, Minerva, Ceres, Melcartus, and other beneficent deities, now lies in a village church-yard (Benjes near Hertford), without an inscription to record his merits, or even his name.'

A note in the same page conveys the following additional information.

'A relation, whom Mr Dolignou instructed, with a view to make him his partner and successor in the business, understands the construction and use of the machinery; and there are many young women, now dispersed in service or other employments, whom he taught to work on the looms. It is therefore not yet too late, for any who feel themselves called upon by motives of patriotism, philanthropy, or interest, to act as the *guardians of British manufactures*, to produce beneficial and reputable employment to young women, or to improve their own fortunes by a most profitable branch of industry, to rescue this orphan manufacture from annihilation, and to nurse it up to maturity and strength, with great benefit to themselves, and incalculable advantages to the commerce, the wealth, and the power, of Great Britain.'

We have already had occasion to observe, that the editor of such a work as the present has few opportunities of recommending himself to his reader, otherwise than by patient industry of research, and by minute accuracy of statement; and indeed Mr Macpherson has, in general, most studiously avoided any deviation from the strict duty of the annalist, confining himself to a mere relation of facts, and leaving his readers to draw from them such inferences as they may think fit. But as the complicated commercial accounts of nations are usually stated, like the simple transactions of common merchants, in the technical language of book-keeping, which, with great appearance of clearness in the several entries, is very apt to mislead a novice in political arithmetic, the cautious editor is sometimes compelled, though always with apparent reluctance, to detect and explain the various sources of error. We shall quote an example from vol. III. p. 341. on the subject of the customhouse accounts of the year 1760.

'It has been customary to consider our trade with those countries, from which we import a greater value than we export to them, as unprofitable; and that with those, to which our exports exceed the value of our imports, as profitable. But such a rule is liable to a great number

number of exceptions. The apparent balance must be frequently erroneous, from the inaccuracy of the valuation. For example, the Irish linens are all rated in the customhouse entries in England at 8d. a yard on an average; whereas, 1s. 4d. a yard, the average price assumed in the Irish customhouse books, is rather under the value. As linens generally constitute above a half of the value of the imports from Ireland to England and Scotland, the error in the value of that one article turns the balance of trade with Ireland against Great Britain: and the valuations in many other branches of our commerce are not a whit more accurate. Money brought into Great Britain is not subject to entry; and therefore does not appear in the customhouse books, any more than bills of exchange. Money carried out swells the amount of export entries,\* and consequently enlarges the supposed general profit; though, according to the doctrine, that gold and silver are the only standard of wealth, such exportation is so much clear loss to the nation. Great quantities of goods, subject to high duties, totally prohibited, or shipped for exportation upon bounties or drawbacks, are clandestinely imported. Such importations, though not appearing in the general account, there is reason to believe, have considerable influence on the exchange with some neighbouring countries.† And such of those smuggled goods as have been entered for exportation, perhaps over and over again, thus make great additions to the fallacious estimate of the profitable balance, without ever being in reality exported at all for foreign consumption. All goods exported for the use of our armies abroad, are part of the national expenditure; and can no more constitute a real part of the profitable balance, apparently swelled by their exportation, than the goods taken from his stock by a manufacturer or shopkeeper for his own use, can be stated as enlarging his profitable sales. Cargoes entered outward, which are lost at sea, or taken by the enemy, swell the amount of exports, and consequently of supposed profit; whereas, in fact, they are a dead loss to the nation, (and, in case of

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\* Till the year 1765, the gold and silver carried abroad were entered in the customhouse books, as merchandize exported, under the title of foreign gold and bullion, (being 884,102l. 11s. 3d. for the year 1760), which, being foreign, must have been previously imported, though the customhouse takes no cognizance of the importation. In extracting the accounts for the years 1760—1764, I have omitted this article, which, as it stands in the exports, appears to swell the favourable balance; whereas it is, in fact, the necessary payment of an unfavourable balance. In time of peace, the bullion which is exported goes, mostly, to China.

† For example, can we suppose that England, this year, bought goods from France only to the amount of 37l., in return for goods to the amount of 209,946l.? Or, that Scotland took not one article in return for tobacco, &c. amounting to 341,871l., seeing that the commerce in tobacco was tolerated on both sides?

of capture, tend to enrich the enemy by whom they are in ~~reality~~ exported), while the want of the homeward cargo, which should have been imported in return, and which to the individual sufferer, is not only a real loss, but a heavy disappointment and derangement of his plans of trade, tends to enlarge the supposed balance of trade in our favour. And the loss or capture of homeward-bound ships, in the same manner, by diminishing the amount of entered imports, fallaciously adds to the apparent favourable balance.

\* On the other hand, there are branches of trade which would be ruinous, if the imports did not exceed the exports, or, in other words, if the balance were not *unfavourable*, according to this standard of estimation. Such is the trade with all our West India settlements, which have been formed and supported by British capitals, and in a great measure owned by proprietors residing in Great Britain. Therefore, the outward cargoes are to be considered as the stock employed in the culture of the plantations; and the homeward cargoes are in fact the proceeds of that culture, the excess of which is not a loss to the nation, but the real amount of the net profits coming into the pockets of the proprietors, and giving a very comfortable demonstration how much the amount of the product is more than the prime cost. In other words, the outward cargoes are the *seed*, and the inward cargoes are the *harvest*. Neither is the balance, stated as due to the islands, remitted to them to increase their stock of circulating money. A part of it is paid, as interest or discharge of debts, to capitalists at home, to whom many of the plantations are deeply mortgaged. Another part (and, I hope, the largest) rests with the proprietors, of whom a very considerable number are merchants residing in Great Britain, and many of the others also reside in England, living on the balance of their plantation produce, which, if not entirely exhausted in their expenditure, is laid out in purchases at home, or in improving the West India plantations, and thus, in either way, adding to, and by no means deducting from, the national opulence.

\* The same reasoning will also hold good with the trade to Hudson's Bay, and several others, wherein the excess of the imports is the real profit, and a continuation of *favourable* balances would in a few years ruin the trade. In some branches of business, the goods exported are merely the charges of trade, as is the case in all fisheries. For example, if a large sum appeared as the amount of goods carried to Greenland, and none at all brought from it, it is evident that the apparent favourable balance is a dead loss, and that the adventurers, besides the goods shipped, and entered as exported, lose also the wages and provisions of the seamen, and the wear and tear of their ships; whereas, in such trades, the excess of the imports above the exports, (or, if any body pleases to call it so, the unfavourable balance), shews the amount of the national gain.

\* There is another kind of deceptive inference to be drawn from the customhouse entries, if not duly guarded against. It is necessary to advert,

advertiseth that the exports to some countries constitute the prime cost of cargoes to be shipped off from them to a third country. Thus, the wines of Madeira are sent to the British settlements in the East and West Indies; and, even if intended for Britain, are often carried by the circuitous route of those distant regions before they are brought home. The bulk of the cargoes from Africa, consists of the miserable natives, who are sold in the West Indies, and the proceeds are generally remitted to Great Britain in bills of exchange which do not appear at all in the customhouse books; and, in like manner, most of the cargoes carried from Newfoundland and the adjacent countries, consist of fish which never come to Great Britain, but are sold in Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, and their proceeds also brought home in bills of exchange.

‘ Were we to estimate the prosperity of a country merely from the balance of trade in the customhouse books, Scotland must be pronounced to be in a ruinous state, ever since the American war; the imports from foreign countries being generally more than the exports to them; as will appear by the accounts to be found in the subsequent parts of this work. But the truth is, that, since that event, the people of Scotland have paid more attention than formerly to manufactures, which (by land-carriage and coasting navigation, neither of which appear in the customhouse books) are carried to every part of Great Britain, and enter to a much larger amount into the exports of London than into those of Glasgow: and that, upon the whole, the trade of Scotland is now more flourishing than ever.

‘ From what has been said it will appear, that all arguments, calculations, or arrangements, founded upon the supposed balance of trade, are very fallacious; and that those founded upon the balance with any particular country are generally much more fallacious than those deduced from the general balance of the whole foreign trade of the nation.’

Our limits will not permit us to enter any further into a description of this part of the work, because the variety of its contents is almost infinite. We find in vol. 4. p. 525. *et seqq.* a review of the whole of our manufactures, as carried on in the year 1800; and in p. 537, a specification of *all* the principal articles of merchandize which actually composed the trade of Great Britain, in that year, with all parts of the world, extracted from the proper books in the customhouse; besides which, separate notices and anecdotes, relating to the progress of every branch of human industry, occur perpetually. ‘*Quicquid agunt homines*’ may fairly be considered as the subject of our author’s repertory. We shall therefore now hasten to take notice of the appendix, reserving our general remarks for the conclusion of the work.

This appendix consists of four pieces, of which the first is a table divided into twelve columns, and presenting, at one opening



ing of the book, the chronology of the principal sovereigns of Europe, from the year 800 to the present time.

Nos. two and three are auxiliary tables, to assist us in calculating the depreciation of money from the Conquest to the year 1800; No. 2. expressing the quantity of fine silver contained in the pound Sterling at different periods, both in England and in Scotland, and No. 3. being a chronological table of the prices of coin and of various other articles, the authority for each being annexed to the prices quoted.

This table is, beyond comparison, the fullest that we remember to have seen, and, by pointing out the sources from which all its elements are derived, and thus enabling us to discover any error into which the copyist might inadvertently have fallen, is rendered doubly valuable. Yet we must doubt whether, as the author supposes, 'by a comparison of these two tables, the real value of money, through all the stages of its diminution and depreciation, may be ascertained with tolerable accuracy,' if we suppose, as he does, that the increase of taxes, in many articles, now constitutes the greatest part of the price. For example, if we take an average of the price of wheat, during the four years 1771, 2, 3, 4, and compare it with a similar average of the years 1796, 7, 8, 9, it will appear that wheat had risen during the interval only in the proportion of 100 to 124 nearly; yet, such was the progress of taxation during this period, that we should perhaps be nearer the truth in supposing that the general expence of living had nearly doubled. The price of grain is, however, the best single standard to which we can appeal as a measure of the depreciation of money, though it should seem that the progress of the national debt must enter as an important element into the calculation of the money-price of commodities of all kinds; both because the large portions of the national capital lent to Government in time of war, and spent as income, must produce the same effect as a similar augmentation of bullion; and because the taxes raised to pay the interest, though some may operate as a stimulus to industry or to invention, and thus diminish instead of raising the price of particular articles, whilst others may fall for a time on the grower instead of the consumer, must ultimately raise the price of the taxed commodities, and thence gradually spread to those which are untaxed. We therefore conceive that a short table, exhibiting at one view the successive augmentations of the public debt, might have been useful in this place for many purposes of reference.

The fourth number of the Appendix is entitled 'a commercial and manufactural gazetteer of the united kingdom of Great Britain

tain and Ireland,' occupying 53 closely printed pages in double column. A geographical sketch of a somewhat similar nature, but far less ably executed, is added, if our recollection do not deceive us, to the *Dictionnaire de Commerce* of M. Savary; but we do not remember to have seen any compilation of equal interest with the present, which seems to contain the latest, as well as the most correct description extant of all the manufacturing towns in the united kingdom. We shall here subjoin two extracts from this gazetteer, which adds very considerably to the utility of the work.

'Carron-works (*Stirlingshire, Scotland*).—The greatest iron-works in Europe, conducted by the greatest company ever associated for carrying on a manufacture. For giving motion to the machinery of this vast establishment, the company have the command of the whole force of the river Carron, which also brings their ore, coals, and other materials up to the works, and carries off the manufactured goods without any cartage. Cannon are cast solid, and bored by drills turned by the river; and not only the British Government, but every power in Europe has been supplied with them. There is also a shorter kind of cannon, of a proportion between a great gun and a howitzer, invented in the year 1752, at the fort on Cove Island, in the harbour of Cork, by General Melville, first made here in 1779 by Mr Gascoigne, director of the works, and now well known over all the world by the name of carronades. Pipes, cylinders, boilers for sugar-works, ballast for ships, stove-grates, which are now in almost every apartment of the British dominions where coal is burned; and, in general, every article that can be made of cast-iron, are made in great perfection at these works. There are also forges for making anchors of all sizes, anvils, and other heavy articles; machinery for making malleable iron and plating iron. Above 140 tons of coal are expended every day, and about 1000 men are employed in time of peace, but a much greater number in war. In the neighbourhood there is a large manufacture of nails; and several others, on smaller scales.'

'Fulneck (*York, W. R.*), a village inhabited entirely by Moravians, stands in a most romantic situation, on a sloping bank facing the sun, at the bottom of which there runs a pretty stream. The space between the houses and the brook is a continued garden, with cloth-tenters interspersed. There is in the village a very elegant building, containing a chapel and school-house, with lodging for the scholars. There are also two very singular institutions, almost resembling a monastery and a nunnery, called *the young mens' economy*, and *the young womens' economy*. No strangers of the other sex are admitted into either house; but the inhabitants may come out to converse with their friends. They follow any business they choose, and may change their way of life when they please. The women are about sixty in number, mostly employed in embroidery and tambouring, and they all sleep in one large room. The men;

men, who are about fifty, also sleep all in one room. There is also a house in which all the widows live together.'

The whole work is terminated by a general chronological index of 92 pages.

For the reasons which we have already stated, we shall abstain from making any remarks on the style and language of this book, which, though plain and unadorned, are, in general, remarkably perspicuous. But we must point out to Mr Macpherson one passage, in which the expression appears to us very awkward, and which, though not mentioned in the table of *errata*, has apparently been perverted by some mistake of the printer. It is in Vol. III. p. 355., where it is stated, that 'if a ship has sailed from any given point, where the sun was *in the zenith (or in his meridional altitude)*, and, next day, when the sun *is in the zenith*, it is found by a watch, which goes perfectly true, that it is four minutes after twelve, the ship has made one degree of difference of longitude to the westward,' &c. It certainly was not intended to restrict the proposition to tropical climates, where only the meridional sun can be in the zenith, so that the words '*on the meridian*' ought probably to be substituted for both the phrases marked in italics.

We must also express our disapprobation of the uncouth mode of spelling many common words. Why substitute *therefor* for *therefore*, *later* for *latter*, *tun* for *ton*? To establish a *rational* orthography in English is apparently quite impossible, but it is easy to adopt that which is now fixed by custom, and no man can depart from it with impunity.

We have said that, in compiling these volumes, which were intended as a repertory of facts, the author has cautiously abstained from all matters of theory, reserving (perhaps) his observations and opinions for some future publication. But there is one opinion, or rather sentiment, which seems always present in his heart and mind, and which, at almost every page, drops spontaneously from his pen. This is a detestation of war, the parent of crimes and of calamities; a rooted dislike of all its instruments and agents; and a veneration for the peaceful benefactors of mankind, the Wedgewoods, the Arkwrights, the Watts, the Brindleys, &c. to whom he would willingly transfer those triumphs and dignities which are so frequently and so perversely bestowed on the sanguinary sons of ambition. Perhaps praise and blame might be more justly distributed by an assembly of calm philosophers than they now are by the giddy multitude; yet this multitude might possibly allege with some truth, in justification of its awards, that the ingenuity of the artist, and the skilful enterprise of the merchant, or, even of the agriculturist,

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are best recompensed by a communication of the wealth and prosperity which they have contributed to disseminate; and that honour, the prize for which life is daily ventured, is naturally the exclusive and appropriate reward of hardy intrepidity. It is true that this quality may be sometimes coupled with the most odious vices,—with paltry cunning, with selfish ambition, and with malignant ferocity; and men thus endowed, and armed with power, may ravage the universe like a pestilence: yet to this desolating spirit may be opposed a saviour spirit of still higher power, so long as such a spirit shall be justly valued, so long as the rewards of enthusiastic heroism shall not be bestowed on inventive ingenuity. These, and many similar arguments might be urged in exculpation of the vulgar feelings of mankind on this subject, and might, perhaps, deserve consideration. But, be this as it may, we are very far from meaning to reprobate the favourite opinion of our venerable author, which, besides that we believe it to flow from the genuine benevolence of his heart, must evidently have formed his principal inducement to undertake, and his chief encouragement to persevere in a task, the completion of which required much severe labour, and has consumed many years of a useful life. No literary work, we believe, can be well performed, which is not performed with some degree of conscious satisfaction; and, as few things are less alluring in themselves than arithmetical calculations and commercial documents, we are persuaded that no motive but a firm conviction of the importance and moral utility of his undertaking could have induced the learned editor of Wyntown to compile the *Annals of Commerce*.

Upon the whole, we have no hesitation in saying, that Mr Macpherson has, in our opinion, performed all that could be expected from an individual, and perhaps more than the public had a right to expect from him, because it is scarcely possible that his readers should be capable of appreciating the extent of his toil, with which therefore the increase of his reputation is not likely to be commensurate. Numberless passages of the ancient historians, like certain problems in algebra, are susceptible of an indefinite number of solutions; and on such occasions, it would be absurd to say, that he has never laid himself open to criticism, even fair criticism,—or that he has never deceived himself: but the internal evidence of every page convinces us, that he never means to deceive his reader. In our notice of his work, we have endeavoured to be as concise as possible, because the praise of a critic is often suspicious; and censure, we are afraid would, in this instance, be useless, since it is highly improbable that the author should ever attempt the Herculean task of revising

ing a second edition of such an enormous mass of materials, even on the supposition that his attention should not be called off during the interval to some newer object of inquiry.

ART. II. *Travels after the Peace of Amiens, through Parts of France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.* By J. G. Lemaître, Esq. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1225. London, Johnson. 1806.

MR LEMAÎTRE seems, as far as we can discern, to be one of the great multitude of English idlers whom every suspension of hostilities pours over the face of the Continent, and who fortunately return, for the most part with as little inclination as talent, to become writers of travels. The interest excited by his adventures, is nearly such as might be expected from the domestic narratives of these worthy gentlemen. His route is, of all others, the most beaten, being an integral portion of the grand tour of Europe. His movements were confined to the highway and the more easy parts thereof, by the company of his wife. His intercourse with the natives was limited by the rapidity of his movements, and his entire ignorance of the languages. His general remarks approach to the excellence of those which not unfrequently are heard to drop from country gentlemen. And the species of information which he collects, may be with certainty found among the manuscripts of any given traveller, capable of committing his observations on manners and cities, to the paper of his pocket-book. Were it not, indeed, for the small number of these repositories which ever see the light, we should have found the task of penetrating through these volumes altogether intolerable. The genuine anglicism of the chief objects of attention, eating, drinking, paying, quarrelling with drivers, innkeepers, and foreign customs, would have been ill repaid by the few scattered notices of more important matters which now and then forced themselves on the traveller's view; the omission of almost every thing which one could have wished to see described, would have been hardly compensated by the minute insertion of almost all that one could have spared; and the singular disqualification of the author, in all the great requisites of a traveller, would have been poorly counterbalanced by his various opportunities of procuring information. But while countries are changing their governments, their political relations, their boundaries, their manners, their very names and physical appearances, with a rapidity happily unknown in former times, the last meagre account that can be procured of them, is in some respects preferable to the fullest

and most ingenious works of an earlier date: and we have generally remarked, that though the labour of toiling through modern books of travels is seldom repaid by the detached scraps of information which they contain; yet this toil, when undergone by one, cannot fail to be of general utility, by saving other readers the bulk of the task, and extracting for their use the little that those works present. This consideration must form, at once, our reward for the ungrateful labour to which we have submitted, and our apology for troubling our readers with an account of Mr Lemaître's three volumes.

It is not easy to imagine a more dull and insipid series of letters than this honest gentleman has managed to indite upon Switzerland and Italy. What he tells of one stage, he almost invariably repeats of every other. His adventures consist of now a shower of rain—now a late arrival; his views are sometimes a mountain, sometimes a valley; his calamities are always a bad dinner, or a dear bill, or a sulky landlord, and a lazy postillion; things, we readily admit, most interesting in themselves, and highly fit to occupy a man's serious attention, as indeed they never fail to do, whether we permit them or not; but exceedingly apt to be undervalued by those who merely read the history of his journeyings. Then, upon every occasion, Mrs Lemaître is afraid; whether the day is good or bad,—by moonlight and in the dark,—on precipices or in plains,—by land and by water,—this lady's fears are perennial. Not that we by any means doubt the fact, or are at all inclined to blame a husband for being anxious about his wife; but we conceive that printed books have little to do with such touching and domestic points, and that they might all have safely been left out, and supplied by the reader's imagination.

If, however, we are somewhat out of humour with Mr Lemaître's manner of telling his tale, and getting together his materials, we are rather worse off when he stops, as he has an unlucky habit of doing, to reflect and 'meditate the passing scene.' There is not, we believe, within the four corners of his book, a position which the hardiest sceptic could find a moment's hesitation in admitting. He has no mercy on common topics, of unquestionable and most notorious truth. He drives you to absolute distraction by his sensible and utterly irrefragable observations. You are perpetually stunned, not with the novelty, but certainly with the solid content of his remark. He equals, in this species of cruelty, a whole country squire and his maiden sister. In fact, the evil which haunts one through the whole book, is a hopeless and unvaried mediocrity, for which there is never any cure, and no palliative but resignation. We begin our extracts

with a few specimens of this vein of reflection, which pervades Mr Lemaître's writings. They will serve as an excuse for confining our future attention to his descriptions, and are taken almost at random.

Victor Amadeus erected a church on the expulsion of the French by Prince Eugene, from Piedmont. One might have hoped to view this building at peace from all moral reflections, and only annoyed by the monuments and vestry anecdotes which haunt all such places. But Mr Lemaître has decreed otherwise. 'In recollecting,' says he, 'this circumstance, in viewing this splendid monument of a past triumph over the French, one's pity for the present vanquished state of the Piedmontese and their deposed sovereign, naturally increases, and the mind is forcibly recalled to the strange mutability of human affairs.' (I. 182.) Again, talking of the natives of Turin, he remarks, 'that they have no industry, because they have no commerce, and consequently no spirit or activity.' And after noticing their excessive bigotry, and constant attendance at mafs, he judiciously warns us not to suppose, that on this account, they are proportionably virtuous; and all this, as if we had not to wade through such information as the following, in the very same pages. 'Our journey from Turin to the Supurga, occupied nearly two hours; but on our return, being on a descent, we performed the same distance in half that time.'—'We went to hear mafs, being Sunday: the music did not answer the expectations which we had formed.'—'In visiting, for the second time, the chapel of St Suaire, I was much pleased with the marble rotundo, which is certainly beautiful.'—'In returning, we were much surprised at perceiving the immense crowd which filled the road from Turin to the Valentin. It was, indeed, so full of passengers, that it reminded me of Hyde Park on a Sunday; I also counted five or six good carriages,' &c. &c.

The subject of invasion affords matter of harangue more than once. It was the apprehension of this event that forced our author home. Little does he 'believe such an attempt likely to be made; but who could bear to be absent for an instant, while our common country is menaced?' (II. 250—419.) But the whole force of Mr Lemaître's genius is called forth by the ancient and established topic of death. In order to indulge upon this point, he properly visits the Capuchin convent at Vienna, where the Royal family are buried; and their tombs 'are calculated to create reflections, at once awful and instructive.' We should ill discharge the duty we owe to our readers, were we not to give them the benefit of those 'awful and instructive' observations. The subject is highly important; it relates to matter of univer-  
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sal concernment. Every man is equally interested in it; for it is proved, by undoubted and constant experiment, that death sooner or later happens to all: Wherefore, Mr Lemaître has given vent to his mind in the following 'awful' passage.

'Sovereigns, heroes, and conquerors, who formerly filled the most distinguished parts on the great theatre of public life, stripped of the ensigns of power, of glory, and of triumph, are, in this mansion of death, ranged side by side, with indiscriminating regularity; and, no longer animated by an ambition that once spurned at the limits of the world, are here enclosed within the narrow compass of a tomb; while their once revered persons, rapidly mouldering into decay, are now but hideous and offensive masses of corruption! Such is the lot of humanity! from which inevitable doom, neither the splendour of rank, the charms of beauty, the applauses of fame, nor the dignity of virtue, can for an hour save the proudest, the fairest, the greatest, or the best of human kind.' (II. 265.)

It is, indeed, the character of our author's reflections, in general, as in this instance, to be at least as awful as they are instructive. It is not indeed in every page that we are scared by any thing like the preceding spectacle; yet we acknowledge, that his remarks on the death of the Queen of France (the rock on which so many reflecting minds have lately split, *vide* our review of Hunter's Travels), are sufficiently dreadful; and even, as he himself is pleased to term them, 'melancholy.'

'The Empress, and the ladies belonging to her *suite*, wore a profusion of diamonds. The splendour of these ornaments, the lovely forms and costly dresses of the women, the solemn pace and singular costume of the religious communities, the respectable and striking appearance of the military, the crowds of persons who filled every window, and the dignity of the illustrious persons who appeared as the principal actors in this scene, presented altogether a *spectacle* of vast and uncommon grandeur.

'Beautiful, however, as was this scene, from a concatenation of circumstances it excited some melancholy reflections in my mind. Thirteen years had elapsed since, for the first and only time before, I had seen the ceremony of the *Corpus Christi*. On that occasion, the lovely Marie Antoinette shone like a superior star; and as she walked through the streets of Paris, and astonished all beholders with the charms of her person and the dignity of her manner, every voice seemed ready to exclaim,

"Et vera incessu patuit Dea."

Who then imagined, though this beautiful Queen had already experienced some revolutionary insults, that she was doomed to witness the murder of her royal husband; to languish on the straw bed of a disgraceful prison; to be accused of crimes at which nature revolts; and to be carried in a cart, to end her days on a scaffold, like the lowest and basest of her sex?—The virtuous and ill-fated Louis walked by her



fide, at the solemnity to which I allude; and, as he moved along, was greeted on every side with the endearing title of "Father," and "Regenerator of his people," and welcomed with the acclamations of that nation who, two short years afterwards, condemned him to the death of a felon! (II. 334, 335.)

And so he runs on for a couple of pages more; demonstrating that Kings are in modern times subject to vicissitudes; declaring against fortune for her mutability; thundering out his proofs, that no degree of virtue can secure men from adversity; triumphantly demanding who shall say that the armies of the Emperor may not one day be overthrown; indignantly daring all the world to disprove his arguments drawn from Louis XVI.'s fate; and defying any man living to say, after him, that he is secure from the strokes of fate. (See p. 336.) These notable passages are, as our readers will perceive, in the very purest style of the solid and ingenious Mr William Hunter above alluded to.

Such is the general turn of Mr Lemaître's morality, whom we are now hastily to attend upon his travels. He left Paris, where he had resided long enough to write his 'Rough Sketch' of that capital, published some years ago, and took the road to Geneva, where he resided some weeks. He, of course, visited Ferney, and has given the only account of that interesting spot that has been published since the Revolution.

'I proceed to speak of my visit to Ferney. I attended a party of English friends to that far-famed place a few days since. Ferney is situated in a beautiful country, about seven or eight miles from Geneva. The town, which owed its prosperity to Voltaire, and was principally built by him, is still inhabited, and several of the houses are of a good construction. On approaching the "château," or country-seat, which stands above the town, commanding a very extensive view of Mont Blanc, the lake of Lemán, and the adjoining country (every spot of which is distinguished by some particular beauty), we perceived that there were persons assembled in the church. This church, as every body knows, was erected by Voltaire. A priest was officiating at the altar, who (so I was afterwards informed) was *curé*, or rector, in the time of the philosopher. His name is Huguné; and, after a ten years' exile, he is lately returned to perform the duties of his profession, in the very spot where it is supposed that the abolition of religion was first planned. You will easily conceive with what curiosity we viewed a place and a ceremony rendered so very singular by the number of concurring circumstances.

'The château now belongs to M. B., from whose family Voltaire bought the estate. After his death, Madame Dony's possessed it for a few years. Then succeeded the Marquis de la Villette, who, after disposing of several detached pieces, at last sold back the whole which remained, to the representative of the original proprietor, the present possessor.

feffor. This gentleman received us with great politeness, and himself showed us the grounds.

‘ I am happy to add, that the apartment of Voltaire still continues exactly in the state in which he occupied it. To satisfy your curiosity, I have copied a list of the pictures and inscriptions which it contains. In his bedchamber, on the wall, is written—

“ Mes mânes sont consolés, puisque mon cœur  
Est au milieu de vous.”

‘ Under this inscription stood formerly a black china vase, containing the heart of the philosopher; and under the vase was written—

“ Son esprit est partout, et son cœur est ici.”

His heart has since been removed, and is now placed in the Pantheon of Paris.

‘ On the right of this monument is the picture of a beautiful young woman, who is called “ La Couturière;” a print of Pope Clement XIV.; and the portrait of a lad who was his “ rameur,” or boatman. On the left, a likeness of Catharine II., worked on silk, and which is said to be the performance of the Empress. This must be a mistake, as above it is written—

“ La Salle inven. et fecit.”

Underneath are these words—

“ Présenté à monsieur Voltaire par l’auteur.”

‘ On the right of the bed, which is ornamented with yellow silk curtains, is an excellent likeness of Frederic II. of Prussia: on the left, a drawing of Voltaire, taken at the age of forty.

‘ On the wall against which the bedstead is placed, and within the curtains, is a large print of Le Kain, the celebrated tragic actor, encircled with laurel. Near the fire-place is a likeness of Madame la Marquise de Chatelet.

‘ On the right of the window, prints of the following persons are suspended: the family of Calas, Diderot, Isaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Pierre Corneille, J. D. d’Alembert, and John Milton. These were placed by Voltaire; to which has been added, a small print of J. De-lille, with this citation, written with a pen—“ Nulli sibi lior quam tibi, Virgili;” and a large one of George Washington.

‘ On the left side of the window, are engravings of the following: Etienne François duc de Choiseul d’Amboise, Antoine Thomas, George Guillaume Leibnitz, Jean Jacques d’Artois de Marain, J. d’Alembert, Jean Racine, F. F. Marmontel, and C. E. Helvetius.

‘ Near these also appears a print, intended as a design for a tomb, and made under his own directions, with this epitaph—

“ Dans ce triste et fatal tombeau  
Repose l’ombre de Voltaire.

Pleurez, beaux arts—vous ne verrez plus de père :

Et l’univers a perdu son flambeau.” (L. 35—38.)

From Geneva Mr Lemaître made a tour in the Glaciers of Savoy; and, with his usual felicity in that particular, met with

the most agreeable companions which it was possible to wish for. However, their discoveries are scantily detailed; the only notable occurrence which we have met with in this part of the work, being the singular accident of our traveller's finding the two Albinos, formerly exhibited in the Haymarket, comfortably settled in the valley of Chamouni, and living on the money they made in London. The tour through the Glaciers of Savoy, is succeeded by a tour through Switzerland, which is exhibited in the form of a diary. We did not before conceive it possible for the wittlessness of man to have made such a subject so uninteresting. Accustomed as we had been to the Karamzins and Kotzebues of the day, and not altogether unacquainted with the great master of modern travel-writing, Mr W. Hunter, we had still thought, that to render the actual journal of any given man traversing all the Swiss Cantons quite insipid, exceeded the powers of human dulness. How greatly we were mistaken, the following specimen of Mr Lemaître's Swiss tour may shew. It is matched in every page of this part of his book.

' We spent the rest of the morning in wandering over the town, which is uncommonly neat and pretty in every part. We dined at an early hour, and proceeded afterwards on our road to Thun, which is distant about eighteen miles from Berne.

' We arrived at the former of these places at seven in the evening, after a delightful journey. The road was excellent, and the views more than commonly beautiful. A cultivated and well-wooded valley, filled with pretty villages, was the country through which we travelled; and the towering Alps finished the landscape.

' Tuesday, Sept. 7.—We left our carriage to await our return at *Le Freyhoff*, the little inn of Thun, and got into a boat covered with oiled skin and rowed by three men, at a little before nine o'clock this morning. After rowing for a short distance on the river Aar, we found ourselves on the lake of Thun; one bank of which presents majestic mountains (particularly Le Nidf and Le Stockhorne); and the other, fine woods and rich vineyards. As we moved along on this wide and beautiful piece of water, we remarked Le Château de Oberhofen, where formerly resided a bailiff of Berne, and near it a gentleman's seat, belonging to M. de Vatevell. Under the Nidf I perceived, in a sweet situation, a white little church, which seemed as if it had been an object placed there on purpose to increase the beauty of the landscape. Further on, on the same side, we observed the castle and church of Spatz, belonging formerly to the Barons of Boutenbourg, and at present to the ancient family of D'Eilach of Berne.

' On the other bank, we noticed a curious old wooden house, with the horns of a deer suspended as a sign before it. The next objects which attracted our attention, were the house and village of Meersingen. The former of these is exactly midway between the extre-

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mities of the lake. The inhabitants of the village are considered, according to the prejudices of the country, as idiots; but M. Richart (whose travelling book I had with me) says, that there is not the least truth in the report.—On a height above, stands a village church in a most romantic position.

‘ We now approached a kind of bay. On the left were fir trees growing out of the rock; and on the right, fine woods, planted at the foot of the mighty mountains which stand above. After turning round the rock, which here projects, we perceived Neuhaus (or the new house), near which persons sometimes land, and take a direct path to Utersee. On the right, close on the lake, a pretty little village, called Leisegal, demanded our attention; and, on the other side, a cascade falling from a vast eminence; and above, a church built in the centre of the rock, which is itself covered with trees.’ I. 99, 100, 101.

As a compensation for the above extract, we shall present our readers with what we think by much the best passage in Mr Lemaître's whole work, in which he gives a sketch of Switzerland and the Swiss. It is sufficiently correct, and not deficient in spirit.

‘ The beauties of Switzerland are so various; there is such an extraordinary combination of the grand and mild features of Nature, of the sublime and lovely; of wild and cultivated scenery; that it is almost impossible to conceive unwitnessed the satisfaction which one enjoys in travelling through this delightful country. Here, towering Alps, mountains of ice, extensive lakes, and loud-sounding cataracts: there, cornfields, vineyards, pleasure-grounds, lofty trees, plains of unequalled verdure, level roads, and smiling villages. In one canton, all the pomp and ceremony of the church of Rome, accompanied very generally by dirt, idleness, and comparative indigence: in another, the unadorned worship of the Supreme Being in simple rustic meeting-houses filled with congregations of orderly, well-dressed, and well-looking peasantry. The variety of religion is not more remarkable than the variety of *costume*: every canton has its distinguishing habit; and while each differs from the other, all of them have a character peculiar to this country, and totally unlike the dresses of any other nation in modern Europe. Many of the female fashions are very becoming; and I have seen some girls, so accoutred, who would have excited the praises of admiration even in London or in Paris. In some parts of Switzerland, the women wear large straw hats, ornamented with roses and wild flowers: in others, black beavers, with gold bands. Their hair is sometimes folded in tresses round their heads; sometimes enclosed in plaits, which are so long as to reach their feet; and sometimes covered by a black lace cap of singular shape. Their jackets are of different forms and different colours. A short petticoat here discovers a red stocking, with a wooden slipper; and there, a white one, with a black leather sandal of peculiar form. In short, the eccentricities of dress are innumerable: and in travelling in this country, a man may easily imagine himself at a masquerade.

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‘ The appearance of the people, with some exceptions, is respectable. There seems still to reign much comfort, independence, and general ease.

‘ The houses in most of the villages are of wood, and are frequently built without chimneys,—the smoke being allowed to make its way through the windows. This is an inconvenience not arising from poverty; for many of the houses so constructed belong to persons in affluent circumstances, and contain rooms of some extent; but occasioned by the prevalence of long usage, which has not yet yielded to the improvements of the present day.

‘ The Swiss are a tall, athletic, hardy race of men: civil, reserved, and cautious in all their proceedings: much attached to their own country and customs; zealous advocates of rational freedom; inclined to military exertion; and entertaining a violent antipathy to their neighbours and oppressors, the French nation. Having given them this character, it is almost needless for me to add, that, if France wishes to sink the name of Switzerland into that of a department of the republic “one and indivisible,” she can only succeed in her object by superior force: voluntarily this brave people will never become the vassal of that or any other country whatever.’ p. 146, 147, 148.

This general description is true; and it is our conviction of its truth, that chiefly excites our astonishment at finding the author's details of his tour in such a country so perfectly uninteresting.

From Switzerland Mr Lemaître proceeded across the Alps to Turin. He is now fairly got into that delightful region, which so many famous travellers have described, and yet left almost every thing to be learnt by their successors,—which so many conquerors have pillaged, and yet left possessed of wonders, even among the works of art, sufficient to make those who now see it for the first time imagine that it never contained more. We admit, that little is added to our former pictures of this country, by the dry journals and catalogues of which these volumes are made up. But it is always pleasing to dwell on such a subject. Nothing written concerning it can greatly fatigue us; and this is something when we have to do with a traveller like Mr Lemaître. Before proceeding to notice what he has done upon this subject, we shall briefly mention what we think it deserves, if properly treated. Much of the knowledge chiefly wanted upon Italy, would present itself to an intelligent and industrious traveller, who went resolved to trust his own eyes, and procure his information more from observation and the intercourse of the natives, than from statistical works. The state of society—the character and manners of the people—the singular diversities observable in these particulars, both in different parts of the country, and in different ranks of the same community—the declining influence of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracies—the real situa-  
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tion of the clergy—and the actual degree of superstition prevalent among the people:—all this might easily be learnt from a sufficient intercourse with the society of the various states. The effects which bad governments, and injurious systems of political economy have produced on the situation of different communities, might be illustrated with peculiar felicity in a country, where every kind of government, and every error in policy has flourished among various portions of the same race, in nearly the same physical circumstances, and geographical position, for several ages. The state of letters—the recent progress of arts and sciences, especially in the north of Italy—and the history of the academies which have, during the last half century, arisen there, forms another subject of interesting observation, which has never been handled by any writer of travels. The mere scenery and climate itself have not been described with sufficient liveliness and accuracy. The remains of antiquity; the fine arts; and the recollections associated with the soil, have engrossed, not unnaturally, almost all the attention of those who visited this fine country.

‘ Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,  
Tot congeſta manû præruptis oppida faxis;  
Fluminaque antiquos ſubterlabentia muros. ’—  
‘ Hæc genus acre virûm Marſos, pubemque Sabellam,  
Adſuetumque malo Ligurem, Volſcoſque verutos  
Extulit: Hæc Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos  
Sciapiadaſque duros bello, et te maxime Cæſar. ’

Such descriptions, and such associations, ought by no means to be neglected in a tour of Italy. Much as they have been dwelt upon by the best travellers, the theme is not yet exhausted. It is still possible to illustrate the ground by classical references, and thus to extend, by new recollections, one of the most delightful pleasures which the visitor of Italy enjoys: And it is, at any rate, useful to trace the changes which late events have produced in the treasures of art possessed by this country. For accomplishing the task which we have just now sketched, and it is one of no very difficult execution, the traveller must evidently possess a previous knowledge of the history and statistics of Italy; a thorough acquaintance with the ancient and modern language of its inhabitants; and a sufficient degree of familiarity with the Latin classics. Indeed, those qualifications are quite requisite to any one who would enjoy the gratification of treading over the ground, without further views than his own immediate amusement. As such endowments are exceedingly common, even among the young persons who travel into the south of Europe and their tutors, we trust that many years of peace will not pass over without some attempt being made to accomplish the work now hinted at. How far

far Mr Lemaître has been from doing any such thing, we shall best explain by stating the extent and number of his disqualifications for it.

In the *first* place, if, which is exceedingly possible, he does possess any knowledge of Italian history or statistics, he has carefully, and, we will say, very successfully concealed it. He has studiously avoided all occasions on which it might be displayed, and only by accident now and then left us to our suspicions of him, when, in the endless round of his catalogues, he stumbles upon a celebrated character in history, and betrays an unpleasant want of acquaintance with him. For example, the founder of the order of Jesuits, whom he meets by accident among the churches at Rome, is passed by without any acknowledgement; or, at any rate, plainly *has the advantage* of our traveller, who calls him ‘*St Ignatius of Loyola*.’ (II. 125.) *Secondly*, our author does not even pretend to know ten words of Italian, the easiest as it is the most beautiful of modern languages, and so necessary for the instruction as well as the common comfort and convenience of any one desirous of seeing Italy, that, without it, a traveller had better confine his excursion to Wales or the Isle of Wight. Not that Mr Lemaître’s professed ignorance of Italian in the least prevents him from crowding his pages with scraps of that language, to denote things just as intelligible in English. These are scattered up and down with a liberal hand; and the murder of grammar and spelling render them so many eye-fores to the reader. We have, for example, *Spagnia*, *Marquiffe*, (we presume for *Marchese*), *Cavaliere Servante*, &c.; and when a wrong Italian word is not at hand, rather than give us plain English, Mr Lemaître must write his names of places and customs in French, which has about as little to do with the subject as Chinese; besides that his French is very indifferent. For example, talking of the Linden walk at Berlin, he must call it the *Tilleul*; and, instead of saying the Japan Palace at Dresden, or giving the German name, whatever it is, he will have it to be the Palais *Japannais*, which is a mixture of French and some other language quite unknown to us. In the *third* requisite above pointed out, an acquaintance with classical authors, Mr Lemaître is almost equally deficient. He is far from giving us no quotations; on the contrary, the classic ground on which he treads inspires him, and ‘rouses up all the Roman’ that he has within him; but that is very little. His citations are not apposite, and infinitely trite: as, discoursing of love, he ‘*exclaims*,’ ‘*Omnia vincit amor, nos et cedamus amori*.’ Of Baïæ, ‘*Nullus in orbe locus Baiis præluet amœnis*.’ And when he cannot find a quotation he will make one: as, talking of the Russian minister

at Vienna, who it seems does not live so well as the English minister, (a topic from which our traveller derives wonderful consolation), he adds, that it may still be said of him, '*Sequitur fratrem non passibus aquis.*' And these are Mr Lemaître's eminent disqualifications for writing travels in Italy or elsewhere. All that we have to expect then from him, is a dry catalogue of the more common sights, with now and then a little tolerable description of the most interesting part of Europe.

With such endowments as we have described, he makes his way to Rome, and contrives to fill nearly a volume with appendixes taken from Lumfden's Guide, and other works, which give an account of that celebrated city. That his taste in painting is not of the most approved kind, may probably be conjectured from his totally omitting in his notice of the chief pictures in the Borghese palace, the celebrated Titian of Venus blinding Cupid, perhaps the second work of that great master; and also from his being unable to see any thing very fine in the school of Athens, unquestionably the finest picture in the world. Mr Lemaître, however, greatly prefers the St Peter in prison, in praise of which he is long and loud—evidently taken in by the trick and colouring of that beautiful piece; which no man of taste or knowledge ever viewed as remarkable in comparison of Raphael's other chef-d'œuvres, except because it is a curious specimen of what his powers would have been, had he chosen to exert them in the very subordinate pursuit of striking effect. Such mistakes as Kotzebue sometimes makes on these subjects, may easily be forgiven; they are the fruits less of an ignorant or tasteless mind, than of a love of paradox; and he frequently gives us some ingenious, or at least original idea in describing his affected singularities of judgment. But the reader of Mr Lemaître will search his dull lists, his mere roll-call of pictures and statues in vain, for any novelty of remark, or any striking thoughts. Where he deviates farther from the style of a catalogue than to call a thing pretty, fine, or charming, he only makes gross and ordinary blunders; not the flights of genius, or the errors of paradox, or even the efforts of affectation,—but the mistakes and the ignorance of one whose highest ambition would be to follow the common track of connoisseurs, and imitate the ordinary Cicerone, or his disciple the English traveller,—but whose taste or acquirements are inadequate to the attainment of this humble station. Accordingly, he is of all travellers after the fine arts by much the most unprofitable.

Besides seeing the churches and palaces at Rome, our author is presented to the Pope by Mr Fagan, a painter, or rather a dealer in pictures, who takes upon himself the functions of an  
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English minister, and receives the cordial thanks of Mr Lemaître. This person, indeed, who has no sort of authority to act for this country, and who nevertheless grants passports as if he were an accredited agent, seems to have succeeded completely in playing himself off upon our traveller. He is warmly praised for his polite attentions, and mentioned as a public benefit to all Englishmen at Rome. Another visit was made to Cardinal York, who received Mr Lemaître with the utmost hospitality and kindness, at his villa, and who receives the remuneration which always attends such ill advised acts of civility, in being held up to public ridicule through several pages of a book. The Bishop of Salin, in a subsequent part of the tour, performed the same rites of hospitality, and meets with the like return.

From Rome, the author journeyed on to Naples, where we again have catalogues and lists of names—though the environs of that capital are too interesting for even Mr Lemaître's pencil to make dull. We formerly gave Kotzebue's description of the great wonder of Naples and of Italy, Pompeii. That our readers may compare the two, and receive whatever additional information we can communicate on so curious a subject, we shall extract Mr Lemaître's account of the same town.

‘ From Portici, we drove to Pompeia, or Pompeii (for it is called by both names), a distance of ten miles. The country is beautiful, and the road excellent. Our expectations, highly as they had been raised, were, on arriving, much exceeded by the reality. Pompeii is not, like Herculaneum, under ground, and only visible in parts, and by torch-light: the whole is seen in open day; and the ruins might be taken for those of a city only just destroyed. We walked through the streets, the pavement of which still exists; and the marks of the carriages which once rolled over them are clearly discerned. The streets are narrow, and have flag stones on each side for foot-passengers. We saw two perfect amphitheatres, with the seats which the citizens of Pompeii formerly occupied; and plainly distinguished the boxes of the consuls, marked by corresponding ornaments. The public inscriptions also remain.

‘ We next entered the temple of Isis, \* and beheld the altar, the secret

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\* ‘ This temple was built of brick, and covered with a kind of stucco. Some of the pillars are still entire: they are nine feet and a half high, and of the Doric order. All the instruments employed in sacrifice were found in this temple: candelabra, lamps, lustral basins, &c. Skeletons were also lying here, supposed to be the remains of the priests, who, as they were performing the sacred rites, were smothered in the shower of lava which destroyed the town. The walls were ornamented with emblems descriptive of the worship of Isis, and even with paintings of the *costumes* of the priests.’

cret staircase and hiding-place whence the priests pronounced the answers of the oracle, the place of slaughter, and that of sacrifice, &c. &c. We likewise visited the barracks of the soldiers, which stood at one end of the town.

‘ The private houses are but small, and each possesses a hall, or entrance room, in which a fountain of water constantly played. The apartments would be thought very little even in England, and in this hot climate must have been very inconvenient.

‘ The burying-ground of Diomedes, and the village of a rich citizen, were the next objects which drew our attention. The latter is the only edifice which conveys some idea of a large mansion.

‘ From the limited dimensions of the houses here (notwithstanding the paintings and other valuable articles found within them, which prove that economy cannot have occasioned this diminutive style of building); and from the circumstance of not one ancient dwelling being left at Rome, though the Coliseum, the Pantheon, and even parts of the Emperors’ palace remain; I am inclined to conjecture, that a custom, originating in the spirit of republicanism, made the masters of the world avoid every appearance of ostentation in private habitations; \* while the utmost magnificence, luxury, and taste abounded in the theatres and forums, where the people assembled; in the mansions where the magistrates, the consuls, or the emperors resided; in the baths devoted to public use; and in the temples of the gods. As I am no antiquary, I pretend not to give a decisive opinion on a fact with which I am so little acquainted; and only throw out this idea—as one which has suggested itself more than once since I crossed the Alps.

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\* ‘ In looking into Mr Gibbon’s account of Rome since my return to England, I was happy to find my conjecture confirmed by the following beautiful passage.—

“ In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the modest simplicity of private houses announced the equal condition of freedom, whilst the sovereignty of the people was represented in the majestic edifices destined to the public use. Nor was this republican spirit totally extinguished by the introduction of wealth and monarchy: it was in works of national honour and benefit that the most virtuous of the emperors affected to display their magnificence.”—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I.

‘ Perhaps the splendid residences of Lucullus, Verres, and some others, may be adduced as contradicting the probability of this supposition. I shall only observe, that these particular cases prove nothing against the general custom. I have no doubt that some few Romans occupied habitations infinitely more splendid and more spacious than the palaces of modern sovereigns; but I apprehend that the wealthy citizens of ancient Rome were usually satisfied with much humbler houses than those which persons in similar circumstances now occupy in the great capitals of Europe.’

‘ I resume the subject of Pompeii. In the cellars of the villa, several bodies were found, supposed to have been those of servants ; while in another part were discovered, surrounded with bags of useless gold, the carcases of their masters. Fine paintings *al-fresco* are still visible, and some of them are on transparent marble. When water is thrown on these pictures, they appear in all the freshness of their original colouring. The subjects of some of these paintings are not very decorous, according to modern ideas of delicacy ; and the symbol of the god of gardening appears rather too frequently in the decoration of houses. Different signs, distinguishing the different trades carried on in shops, are plainly perceived ; and among them, those of a tavern-keeper, on which all sorts of refreshments are painted.

‘ Having given you these few particulars, I need scarcely mention how much we were gratified in strolling about a place inhabited by the Romans, and which looked as if they had ceased but yesterday to occupy it. Identifying their persons with their habitations, we seemed to see them at their games, at their devotions, in the interior of their private dwellings, at their military exercises, walking or driving about their streets, enjoying social converse, preparing feasts, or consulting the oracle of their gods : in short, in their daily occupations,—in the kitchen, the bedchamber, the cellar, the library, the market, the walk, the forum, the theatre, the camp, and the temple.’ II. 33—37.

We conclude our extracts with the following description of a young lady taking the veil, which is both striking and correct. We omit the quotations from Pope’s *Eloisa*, with which Mr Lemaître has thought fit to bedizen his pages in this part of his narrative.

‘ When we stopped at the door of the church in which this dreadful sacrifice was to be made, two gentlemen, dressed in uniform, relations of the lady about to assume the religious habit, came forward, and, notwithstanding a heavy shower of rain which was falling at the time, insisted on handing *le Signore Inglese* up the stairs of the church. On entering, we received another mark of the civility shown to strangers by the Neapolitan *noblesse*,—the front seats were reserved exclusively for foreigners ; by which arrangement we were enabled to see the ceremony to the greatest advantage.

‘ The church is a small, but pretty, building, decorated on all sides with rich marble.

‘ The relatives of the unfortunate girl, and all their friends, were in full dress ; and, instead of expressing any grief on the occasion, seemed to consider the event as extremely joyful. Liveliness sat on the countenances of most of them : and the whole scene had rather the appearance of a triumph, than of a sacrifice.

‘ Printed papers were distributed about the church ; the contents of which were so curious, that though I will not tire you by copying them *verbatim*, I must give you the heads, as characteristic of the sentiments which prevail here on such subjects. They formed together a dialogue,

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the *dramatis persone* of which were the World and the fair novice. The one was entitled, "To her excellency Signora ——— the World speaks;" and consisted of a poetical and flowery description of the pleasures of life. The other had written over it, "To the World her excellency Signora ——— answers." In the latter, the victim of superstition was made victoriously to prove the superior blessings of contemplative ease and celestial joy, found in the calm retreat of a religious house; and, disdaining the tawdry and empty vanities offered by the World, she declared how happy she thought herself in being allowed to exchange these baubles for the glorious service of the heavenly Spouse to which she was about to devote the remainder of her days.

The ceremony began with some very good music. High mass was then said; and, in the middle of it, the unfortunate girl, a beautiful and elegant creature, not more than nineteen years of age, and by far the handsomest Neapolitan female whom I have yet seen, appeared at the grate; near which a large, and rather disorderly crowd, was collected. The confessor, standing on the outer side, read some prayers, and gave the novice, through the grate, a wax taper lighted. The lovely victim, dressed in the most sumptuous and fashionable manner, and ornamented with jewels and other decorations, placed it on the altar of an inner chapel, and, returning again to the grate, received from the priest a crucifix. Joy sparkled in her countenance as she took the sacred symbol of Christianity, and with enthusiastic ardour clasped it to her breast. She was then led away by the other nuns; and in a few minutes was brought back in a plain white flannel dress, the *costume* of the order. This change of garment had produced none in her beauty; and the interest which she had excited on her first appearance, was rather increased than diminished by the religious habit which she now wore. The lady-abbess next cut off her long and flowing hair, and put over her head the fatal veil. I confess that I shuddered as I witnessed this last act, which sealed the fate of the unhappy girl. This sentiment, common to all the English, and which rendered the most volatile melancholy, was not shared by the nearest relatives of her who was thus condemned

"to wither in her bloom,

Loft in a convent's solitary gloom."

The Neapolitan ladies laughed, or rather *giggled*, during the most serious parts of the ceremony; sent messages backwards and forwards; and amused themselves with conversing together on the most trivial topics: in short, seemed to consider the whole as a very lively and pleasant event. The novice shed no tears; but her countenance was pale, and I thought I could discover that the smile she assumed was rather forced than natural.

As we were leaving the chapel, we were invited into the *parloir*; where the nuns, only separated by a low grate, appeared, and entertained the strangers with ice, cakes, and other refreshments. The new victim was here seen again, and seemed, by an officious activity displayed

is waiting on her guests, to be anxious to conceal the dreadful thoughts which probably pressed on her mind.

During the whole of this ceremony, I experienced the most painful sensations, and I could not help remarking, how circumstances of the most dreadful kind may be reconciled by custom, prejudice, and religious opinions. The English assembled on this occasion, feeling both pity for the object of sacrifice, and indignation against those who were the authors of it, were at one instant overcome with grief, and the next animated with an enthusiastic wish to rush forward, and, by force, to rescue the victim of superstition from the hands of her bigoted relatives; while the Neapolitans, conceiving that they themselves were doing an act of laudable piety in devoting this lovely creature to the cloister, and were likewise insuring her eternal happiness, showed, in their manner, their countenances, and their conversation, that they looked on what was passing as a scene of joy, not of sorrow. The loud tone of speaking, or screaming, which I have before remarked as prevalent in Italian society, was particularly remarkable on this occasion; and nothing, altogether, could be less solemn, than a ceremony calculated, according to our ideas, to excite the most serious and most painful reflections. (II. 62—67.)

From Naples our author returned through Rome to Venice, and thence by the way of Styria to Vienna, where he found the people hospitable, the ambassadors splendid, and the court every thing that could be wished. This indeed happens always to Mr Lemaître. He is no railer at the great ones of the world. A Prince is with him a synonyme for perfection; and he takes *King* in its antique signification of a wise man. The politeness of the Royal family at Naples was as winning, and their remarks as sprightly, as those of the Pope. Nor could any thing have surpassed both their Majesties and his Holiness, but the affability and graciousness of the Emperor and Empress; who, together with all the Archdukes, and all the Archduchesses, and all the Princes of the Milanese, as well as the Austrian branch, are possessed of every virtue, public and private, and of all the accomplishments of body and mind, which their stations require. Nay, so infectious is this universal perfection, that it extends to their Excellencies (a term used by our author in its literal sense) the Ministers of State and their wives; inasmuch, that Count Cobentzel, who, we learn, is a person of 'lively parts, and celebrated for his wit,' invited Mr Lemaître to a dinner of a hundred dishes; and Count Zechy gave him a dinner, where the dishes were still better dressed, and where there was also to-day; while Countess Zechy, at a ball, shewed Mrs Lemaître 'a degree of elegant attention, infinitely honourable to her,' after the following manner: 'With a respect for strangers which cannot be too highly extolled, and which, I believe, is almost peculiar to Vienna, Madame

dame Zechy rose, and crossed the room, to receive Mrs Lemaistre.\* (II. 317.) Nor is the optimism of the Court of Vienna confined to natives; Count P. and his lady, a native of Scotland, are models of perfection in their several walks; and their son, a child of five years old, is the very Roscius of our author's admiration. 'He sits on a carpet surrounded with books, and delivers the gravest and most acute remarks, rather like a spirit than a child.' — 'He is a phenomenon; and, should he live and continue to make an equal progress in knowledge, he will rival the fame of— Sir Isaac Newton!' (II. 360-1.)

At Dresden and Berlin, Mr Lemaistre scarcely stooped. He has time, however, to notice the infinite perfections of the Electoral family at the one place, having seen them passing out of church to their carriage, and the Royal house at the other. The Queen's beauty, in particular, he pronounces deserving of its high and universal celebrity, having seen her drive past in a postchaise and four, with her handkerchief applied to her face. From Berlin he proceeded through Lubec to Toningen, where his stock of pictures and statues, and kings and queens, and, unhappily, even of dinners and beds, failing him, he conducts us in peace to the water's edge, embarks in a packet, and arrives in a tumult of joy on the English coast.

Upon the whole, we must be permitted to grumble a little at Mr Lemaistre for the dulness of his long work. We believe that he belongs, when properly classified, to the agricultural, and not to the literary part of the community. Now that he has finished his tours, and published two printed books on them, we exhort him to hang up his pen, which was not made for public purposes. In the circle of domestic society, in the bosom of his family, he may enjoy the celebrity which his travels in foreign parts will there procure him; or, should he ever again be filled with ambitious views, and be tempted to forsake the happy life of a country gentleman, the '*somnus virorum levis agrestium*,' for more noisy and splendid scenes, we see no reason why he should not shine at meetings assembled for addresses, or edify, on a bench of Justices, at the Sessions.

"*Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa minora  
Frangere, pannosus vacuis Edilis Ulubris.*"

**ART. III.** *An Historical View of Christianity; containing Select Passages from Scripture; with a Commentary by the late Edward Gibbon, Esq.; and Notes by the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Monsieur de Voltaire, and others.* London. Cadell & Davies. 1806.

**A**LL our orthodoxy was up in arms at the perusal of this extraordinary title; and our alarm was not unmingled with horror, when, on turning the page, we found the work inscribed to the Honourable and right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Durham. We wondered, for the third time, when we came to the notice prefixed to the work by the editor, in which he announces it as his serious intention, to prove the authenticity of Divine revelation from the testimony of its bitterest enemies. In this same notice, he also informs us, that ‘ he does not presume to assert that the preface is the composition of Mr Gibbon.’ ‘ It appears, however,’ says he, ‘ to be written as an introduction to his Commentary; and, if not by his pen, was probably the production of some friend, who had as much pleasure in seeing him among the defenders of Christianity, as the inhabitants of *Naioth* had in seeing Saul among the Prophets.’ It is not likely that any of the readers of this preface will suspect it of coming from the pen of Mr Gibbon. It contains, however, many proofs of the sincere piety of the anonymous author, with a clear and succinct statement of the testimonies which are commonly adduced in support of Revelation. Much of the reasoning must be admitted to be unanswerable, nor can it be necessary, at this time of day, to present our readers with any analysis of it. A few premises, established in rather an arbitrary manner, and a few conclusions not very logically drawn, might perhaps be pointed out; but where a work is designed to silence for ever the impertinent cavils of philosophers, we may be permitted, after the example of so many of our brethren, to shut our eyes on such trifling imperfections.

Impatient to behold the most celebrated infidels of the last century bearing unquestionable testimony in favour of religion, we turned eagerly from the perusal of the preface to the work itself. Here we found, that certain select passages from the Bible formed the text; that extracts from Gibbon’s history furnished the commentary; and that a few scattered remarks from the pens of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Hume, and the editor himself, supplied the notes. With all our anxiety for this last gentleman’s undertaking, we could not help thinking that we had never seen a stranger medley; and we repeated the first lines of  
Horace’s

Horace's Art of Poetry with an inward sadness which we had never before experienced on a like occasion. The first chapter is entitled, *On the Progress of the Christian Religion*. It consists of passages taken from St Mark, St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, in which the kingdom of God is likened to a grain of mustard seed, and our Saviour announces to the Jews that the scripture is fulfilled in their ears. The commentary, if such it can be called, is composed of various shreds and patches collected from the writings of Mr Gibbon, in which the historian has related the progress of Christianity, and its diffusion\* among the Gentile nations. We looked in vain, however, for that unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence, which the editor had told us, in his notice, had been given by Mr Gibbon in support of Revelation. On the contrary, we met with much in his cutting sarcasms, and in his matchless but mischievous irony, to wound the sensibility of Christian devotion; while we found nothing in his statement of facts to comfort and console it.

In acknowledging, that the faith was rapidly extended beyond the narrow circle in which it was first taught, the historian confessed what we do not recollect ever to have heard denied. It is not equally clear, however, that the admission of this fact impressed his mind with a belief in the divine origin of Christianity; nor are we convinced, that a judicious advocate in the cause of religion would pretend, that such a belief was the necessary consequence of such an admission. More than one false religion has spread with astonishing celerity; and the sects which spring up every day, seem to prove a kind of aptitude in human nature for the reception of new doctrines. That the impostures of Mahomet were rapidly diffused, and readily received as truths, cannot well be disputed, when we call to mind how short a time elapsed from the period when he declared himself to be the Prophet of God to Kadijah, in the cave in Mount Hara, to the establishment of his religion and authority in half the kingdoms of the east. In our own times, we have heard of the progress of new sects—of the Seiks in India, and of the Wahabees in Arabia. Nobody will argue from this, that their doctrines must be true. But perhaps the editor thought that Mr Gibbon's statement confirmed, as far as his authority goes, the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the parable of the grain of mustard seed, in which our Saviour evidently alludes to the future progress, and the rapid and general diffusion of his word. That the historian bears testimony to the fact of the rapid progress of Christianity is undoubted; but, as we have already observed, this has never been contested; and it is not enough for the purpose of the editor, that Mr Gibbon admits it. When we have



to contend with infidels, we should take care not to employ any slippery weapons which may drop from our hands. The infidel, who acknowledges that the prediction was accomplished, may still deny the inspiration which dictated it. That Christianity arose from small beginnings, he will say, was known to its founder; and he will ask, if this prophecy of the future dissemination of his doctrines be one, which can prove its author to have been divinely inspired? Mahomet, he will add, in the seventh year of the Hegira, predicted that the splendour of the empire, which he should found, would eclipse that of the Persian monarchy; and yet the historian, who might confess that the prediction was verified, would hardly expect to be told, that he thereby furnished unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in favour of Islamism. We cannot, indeed, see either the prudence or the utility of putting so much stress upon this prophecy, which, though certainly fulfilled, or fulfilling, is not, so apparently at least as some others, one of those which bear the stamp of more than human knowledge, and which the uninspired wisdom of man could not have dictated. It is not like many others both in the Old Testament and in the New, which so mark the time, place, and circumstance, that the infidel, in order to deny what they should oblige him to confess, has no other resource than the disingenuous objection, that they were forged after the events had happened which they affected to predict.

The second chapter is on *Polytheism*. It is made up of a tissue of quotations from the Bible. What the editor calls the commentary of Mr Gibbon, is composed from various unconnected passages, taken from the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. These fragments, though beautiful in themselves, make but a motley appearance in the strange Mosaic into which they have been here wrought by the editor. What his purpose was, we are at a loss to guess. Mr Gibbon has certainly exposed the absurdity of the vulgar creed of the Pagans with great eloquence; nor has he concealed the fanciful and contradictory opinions of the sages of antiquity, on the most important questions of religion, on the providence of God, and on the immortality of the soul. He has not denied, that the description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of poets and painters; and he has spoken, as it might be expected a philosopher would speak, of the mob of deities, that were adored by the superstitious populace. But what evidence is afforded by all this in support of Christianity? Does it follow, that he who expresses his contempt for one religion, thereby becomes a witness in favour of another? We shall be happy to be better instructed; but at present, we do not see any

any very clear logical inference, by which it may be made to appear, that, in ridiculing or censuring the superstitions of antiquity, Mr Gibbon has shewn himself to be the vindicator of revelation. Had it been true, indeed, that neither he, nor any other writer, had ventured to point their wit and their malice against the established faith, their silence might have been charitably construed in their favour; but we fear, that those who may be too truly accused of attempting to throw ridicule on all religions, cannot be very fairly said to have defended one, because they have laughed at another.

The editor has furnished a note to this chapter, which has rather the air of being paradoxical. 'If I was,' (were) says he, 'to select the person who, after St Paul, had, by his writings, most contributed to establish and confirm the evidence of the Christian religion, I should, without hesitation, name the Emperor Julian.' The first impression which the perusal of this sentence made upon our minds, was not very favourable to the author's sincerity. After more mature reflection, however, we became in a great degree disposed to adopt his opinion. We shall state the train of thought which led to this change in our sentiments.

It appears, from the little that we certainly know of its early history, that Polytheism was very widely diffused among the most ancient nations of which we have any authentic records. This is not the place to say any thing of its origin, which has been, and perhaps may be properly, attributed to various causes. It is enough for us to observe, that the harmony and unity, which shew themselves in the scheme of nature, would probably soon bring irresistible testimony against a plurality of gods, to those men, who, as society became more refined, had leisure to study the magnificent and orderly system of the universe. We may, however, consider it as not less probable, that those who governed states, and influenced popular opinion, would fear to propose too rapid and too extensive a change in the religious sentiments of mankind. They would have recourse to allegory, to fable, and to metaphor; would involve a simple religion in all the obscurity of mysterious symbols; and would reserve for a few the knowledge of their real doctrines. That the sages of antiquity followed such a course, will not appear unlikely, if we consider their institutions at Eleusis and other places; the explanations which they gave of their fables; and the decided testimony which many of them have left of their pure and exalted notions of the Deity. While, however, they were fearful of shocking popular belief, by too plain an avowal of their sentiments, they might have been labouring gradually to introduce a religion, which appeared to them to be consonant with truth and nature.

The plan of the ancient mythology, accordingly, appears to have been contrived with great skill and beauty. It was a system of nature, concealed under the veil of allegory. A thousand fanciful fables contained a secret and mystic meaning. The history of the revolutions of the physical world was interwoven with the fictions of the imagination; and the gods of the people, were considered by the statesman and the philosopher as symbols, emblems, or personifications, which were indicative, or illustrative of the system of nature and the universe, as well as of the powers and attributes of that supreme Being who governs all things. The writings of some of the ancient philosophers, and especially of the later Platonists, fully develop and explain the beautiful system of the Greek mythology. But this plan, however simple it might appear to enlightened and educated men, was only a scene of confusion for the illiterate, and consequently, much the greater portion of mankind. The meaning of the fable was overlooked, and the fable itself was religiously believed. History was lost in mythology; the marvellous was blended with every thing; and popular superstition, then, as always, was incapable of being sufficiently glutted with improbabilities. The poets too, lent all the charms of their art, to the delusions, the tales, and the fictions, which misled the people. They embellished the allegories, which concealed the systems of philosophers; but they rendered the religion of the populace only the more monstrous by their fanciful decorations.

Whatever, then, might have been the intentions of those legislators and philosophers, who first formed and constituted this allegorical religion, it is obvious, that all hopes of rendering it generally intelligible to the people must have been soon abandoned, if such hopes were really ever entertained. The religious errors of the multitude were confirmed by their civil institutions; were connected with the practice and cultivation of the most delightful of the arts, with poetry, painting, and sculpture; and seemed to be sanctioned by the general voice of mankind, the Greek and the barbarian, the philosopher and the peasant. It might, then, be deemed inexpedient to disturb the repose of the world, by an exposition of the absurdities which were apparently revered by all, and which, in fact, were only ridiculed by a few. Enlightened men might consider, that the progress of refinement would gradually produce, what it appears to have produced, a general indifference to the ancient superstitions. After the learning of Greece was cultivated by the Romans, more liberal notions were rapidly diffused among that warlike but incurious people; and it must be confessed, that, during the most flourishing period of the empire, the Pagan philosopher might justly vaunt a freedom of speculative

culative opinion, which has been unknown to succeeding ages. The contempt, which men of education felt, and frequently expressed for the vulgar creed, seems to have been gradually extended to all ranks. Even the people themselves were already almost laughed out of their belief in Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo, in the wars and the amours of their fabulous Gods, and in the lying oracles of Delphos and Dodona. But mankind in general are too prone to superstition to endure its absence long; and the doctrine of pure monotheism was too subtle and refined for the ignorant and untaught multitude. The Romans became indifferent to the religion of their ancestors, and yet were not the less ready to become dupes to new impostures. A lucrative trade was carried on by pretended magicians, fortune-tellers, and astrologers; by Chaldeans and Egyptians, who frequently attracted the attention of the magistrates, by their impositions and extortions. It is even not impossible, that the writings of Moses, and perhaps the Gospel itself, were consulted by the same fanatics, who were accustomed to sound the cymbal, and to shake the sistrum, in the midnight orgies of Cybele and Isis. While the ancient fabric of Paganism was thus insensibly melting away, any foreign God was yet welcomed to the Pantheon, and every kind of heathen worship was at once received and ridiculed at Rome.

Such was the state of the capital of the empire, when it was first illumined by the light of Christianity. That this divine religion was eagerly embraced by many, cannot be a matter of surprise to those, who admit the accuracy of the statement which we have just made. Human nature is ever prompt to inquire into subjects which are inscrutable to the limited understanding of man; and those, who found that their whole faith was founded on the fables of poets, or the conjectures of philosophers, may well be supposed impatient to adopt a new creed, recommended by the sanctity of those who professed it, by the important information which it revealed to the world, and by the miracles which accompanied its annunciation. The opposition which was made to the progress of Christianity, proceeded from principles that were feeble, indeed, when compared with the ardour and enthusiasm which animated its disciples. What could the wavering and inconsistent faith of the Pagans oppose to the resolute determination of men, whose zeal was ever ready to brave the terrors of death and torments, and whose conviction was not to be shaken by the contempt or the rage of their adversaries? The Christians were indefatigable in gaining proselytes. They astonished the multitude by the history of prodigies; dazzled many by their descriptions of celestial enjoyments; alarmed more by the denunciation of eternal tortures; and probably amazed all by

- by the confidence with which they proclaimed the approaching dissolution of nature, and the coming of the kingdom of Heaven. The Pagan philosophers long overlooked, or affected to overlook, the dissemination of the new principles; and when they engaged in the controversy, it was difficult for them to defend the ancient religion. To have maintained, that the polytheism of the people could be reconciled to truth, or even to probability, would have been to expose themselves to the just reproaches of their enemies, and to furnish them with weapons against them. To have admitted, that the existence of the popular Gods of Greece and Rome was a fiction of the imagination; to have sunk them into emblems of the physical elements; to have resolved them into mere abstractions; or to have denominated them symbols of the various attributes of a sole and omnipotent Deity, would have been, in the eyes of the people, to have abandoned the cause of Paganism. Those writers, who undertook to maintain the cause of the ancient religion, were, in fact, reduced to this dilemma. Paganism, as it was explained by philosophers, was unintelligible to the vulgar;—as it was understood by the vulgar, it appeared ridiculous to philosophers. In such a case, the struggle could not have been long, if the persecutions, which the Christians so often suffered, had not retarded their success. When, from all the causes which we have stated, the prejudices of the people in favour of their ancient superstitions began to relax, it was, perhaps, already too late to attempt to revive their expiring veneration for the Gods of Olympus. It was much too late, after Christianity had become the religion of the bulk of the people, and after it had been once established by imperial authority. Persecution could then only tend to inflame zeal, and exasperate pride. To attempt to defend the absurdities of the vulgar creed, was now become a sure way of exposing them the more. We may, indeed, wonder, that the philosophic Julian should have chosen this mode of opposing Christianity; and inasmuch as he endeavoured in his writings to vindicate the exploded superstitions of the people, it is probable, that he only thereby confirmed them the more in their attachment to their new religion.

While, however, we so far agree with the editor concerning the effects which were likely to be produced by the writings of the Emperor Julian, we cannot help observing, that it appears rash to maintain, that an author, who laboured to restore Paganism, did more for Christianity than all the saints of the Church who have written since the days of St Paul. This would almost seem to argue, that the weak reasoning of those who defended the ancient superstitions, had done more to promote the progress of true religion, than all the arguments of those who professed and taught it; and that Christianity owed its establishment rather

to the absurdity of the system which it supplanted, than to its own intrinsic worth. We fully acquit the orthodox writer of the note (for orthodox we doubt not he is) of any intention to convey such a meaning; but the experience of our lives has not helped to convince us, that the zealous are apt to be accurate, or the enthusiastic prudent.

The third chapter is entitled, '*Of the Spirit of Christianity,*' and commences with a quotation from St Luke. 'Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. And to him that smiteth thee on one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take away thy coat also.' The spirit of humility, charity, and resignation, which is breathed in these sentences, is indeed most amiable. If the perversity of human nature render it difficult, or impossible, for us to follow these precepts in their literal sense, the beauty of the moral theory, which they recommend, is not less conspicuous; nor have they any tendency, when rightly understood, to produce a state of society, where we should meet only with tyrants and robbers upon one hand, and patient and grateful sufferers on the other.

The persecutions which the Christians should suffer, are foretold in some of the texts; and those which they had already begun to suffer, are described in other texts, which are strung together in the fourth chapter of the work before us. We are of opinion, that the sarcastic language of the Commentary, is much more likely to strike its readers, than any evidence which it contains in support of revelation. 'It has already been observed,' says Mr Gibbon, 'that the religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. *It might therefore be expected,* that they would unite with indignation against any sect or people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind; and, claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship, except its own, as impious and idolatrous.' This seems to us to be rather a strange mode of bringing forward unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in support of religion. It does not appear to us to be the way to prove that a prophecy was of divine origin, to show us, that what that prophecy foretold, was precisely that which might have been expected.

The fifth chapter commences with some extracts from Genesis, in which it is narrated, that God conversed with Abraham; that he made a covenant with him; that he gave him the name of Abraham, because the Lord had made him the father of many nations;

nations; and that Abraham was ninety-nine years of age when he received the rite of circumcision. These extracts are followed by others from the New Testament, containing the prophecies of Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Temple, which had been rebuilt by Herod. Upon the first part of this chapter (for such we shall call it out of courtesy), Mr Gibbon's commentary does not appear to throw much light. If it throw any, it is not upon the truth or fidelity of the history of Moses. 'The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua,' says Mr Gibbon, 'had beheld, with careless indifference, the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and, in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors, than to the evidence of their own senses.' The incredulity of the Jews, amidst the signs and the wonders, the miracles and the prodigies, which happened among them, is indeed one of the stumbling blocks, which the infidel is ever ready to pretend he cannot remove. In times when the Deity condescended to interpose his authority, in order to liberate the children of Israel from bondage; when he reversed the order of nature; when he sent famine, plague, and death, on the land of Egypt; when he divided the waves of the sea for the sake of his favoured people; and when he was accustomed to converse familiarly with their leader; these blind and ungrateful Jews were scarcely less prone to idolatry than their heathen neighbours. After the revolution of ages, this same nation, although no longer witnessing such astonishing miracles, put implicit faith in the writings of Moses, and were convinced by the very prodigies which failed to convince those who were said to have beheld them. All this must undoubtedly be confessed to be very surprising; and yet we are at a loss to imagine, how, either in stating, or in insinuating, the common objection of infidelity to the truth of the Mosaic history, any evidence can be said to have been brought in its support. Would not the time of the orthodox editor have been better employed in answering the objection (as we have no doubt he could do), than in producing it to the public, couched in the ironical language of Mr Gibbon?

The prediction of the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, is one of the most distinct in the sacred volume. That it should be so, may appear extraordinary to those who consider by whom the prophecy was made, and the small importance of the event which it foretold. In the history of the world, and to the greater portion of the inhabitants of the globe, it seems, at  
first

first sight at least, to be of little consequence, whether the capital of one of the most insignificant provinces of the Roman empire should stand or fall. But, let us take into consideration the place where the prediction was made, and the circumstances which attended it. Jesus was approaching to Jerusalem, where he was to announce his divine mission to the rulers of the people. He knew the fate that awaited him; and, as he beheld Jerusalem, he wept over it, and apostrophized the ungrateful city in the most affecting and pathetic language. Its enemies, he foretold, should cast a trench about it, should compass it round, and should not leave one stone upon another, because it knew not the time of its visitation. The destruction of the temple, and the dispersion of the Jews, are afterwards announced with equal accuracy; and Christ concludes with foretelling his second appearance, and the signs which shall precede the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory. ‘When ye see these things (said he to his disciples) come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled.’

A considerable part of the commentary upon these passages is furnished by Josephus, with more propriety, we think, than could have been done from the works of Mr Gibbon. Our readers probably remember the insidious observation of this last historian, whom the editor is pleased to call a defender of Christianity, in allusion, we believe, to the very words which we have just cited from the Scripture. ‘The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation.’

We have said, that the commentary upon the text has been supplied with more propriety in this place from the history of Josephus than from that of Mr Gibbon: but we do not mean by this to declare our approbation of the commentary. The relation which Josephus has given of the siege of Jerusalem, has too much of that kind of colouring which is better adapted to a romance than a history. He asserts, that the most shocking cruelties were committed by the Roman soldiers, which the humane Titus lamented but did not prevent; and he pretends, that eleven hundred thousand Jews perished, during this dreadful siege, which must have been more bloody than any that is recorded in the annals of the world. We should not, however, have taken notice of the exaggerations of the gossiping Josephus, if he had not affirmed, ‘that the divine sentence had *long since* condemned the temple to the fire.’ Now, as Josephus was a Jew, steadily attached to the faith of his nation, and as he consequently



frequently rejected the Gospel, it is evident, that he affected, in this passage, to refer to some prediction which existed before the time of our Saviour. For it will not surely be pretended that he understood the divine sentence to have been pronounced by Jesus of Nazareth, since, as Tillotson remarks, he seems to have avoided as much as he could, the very mention of the Christian name; and since it is generally admitted, that the passage in his work, containing an account of Christ, is a manifest forgery. We cannot, therefore, help admiring how the orthodox editor of the volume before us should have brought forward Josephus as a commentator on the words of the text, when it must be clear, that he did not mean to attribute the prophecy to its real author.

The remaining part of the commentary to this fifth and last chapter, is supplied by Mr Gibbon. This historian mentions the unsuccessful attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple, and relates, with an honourable impartiality, the events which are said to have impeded the impious undertaking of the imperial apostate. We must leave this story, however, of the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the foundations of the new temple, to be examined by bolder critics. For our own parts, we conceive that nothing can be so injudicious as to rest the evidence of Christianity in any degree upon such a legend, and really have little more respect for the prodigies of Marcellinus, than for those of Livy or of Plutarch.

Of the notes which are subjoined from Hume, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, we have thought it unnecessary to say any thing hitherto, because we honestly confess they do not appear to us to contain any evidence at all in support of revelation. We cannot, indeed, easily conceive what should have induced the orthodox editor to seek for such evidence in such writers. Hume merits all our praise as a profound thinker; and the elegance of his style will long recommend him to readers who can comprehend nothing of his philosophy. Among all those, however, who, as they read, sit wondering for a meaning, we have never met with one who expected to find any evidence brought forward by David Hume in support of Christianity. The talents and eloquence of Bolingbroke, in like manner, are generally admitted and admired; but his philosophy was shallow; nor should we think it of much importance to the cause of religion to prove that he had argued in its favour. That he has ever seriously done so, we must be permitted to doubt. On the contrary, his language, when he speaks of religious matters, is  
often

often highly intemperate and indecorous. Every body knows that what are called his philosophical works, contain much more declamation against Christian teachers, if not against Christianity itself, than sound philosophy; and Bolingbroke appears to have dreaded the judgment which might be pronounced on his essays, which he left to be published by Mallet after his death. Dr Johnson, with a degree of warmth which can be excused only on one side of the question, and certainly with more force than urbanity, called him a rascal and a coward,—a rascal who had charged a blunderbuss against Christianity; and a coward, who had hired a hungry Scotchman to draw the trigger. With respect to Voltaire, we must own, we little expected ever to see his name in the list of the defenders of revelation. His light and playful ridicule, his ready and brilliant wit, his acute and lively mind, must ever be admired; and we are not so morose as to quarrel with all his works, because he wrote too freely in some of them, and too superficially in others. We lament sincerely, indeed, that he should have so often lent his aid in the cause of infidelity; and we lament it the more, that in spite of all the declamations against them, his works are read by every man who pretends to any kind of education in Europe. These feelings have not been changed by the notes which the orthodox editor has adduced from his writings, to prove, that Voltaire was a witness who might be cited to bring evidence in support of religion. Among these notes we find a few lines from the tragedy of *Alzire*. Was this introduced to show the reading or the judgment of the editor? it certainly no more proves Voltaire to have had any religious belief, than the speeches of Macbeth would prove Shakespear to have had the conscience of a murderer and a regicide.

After having made so many remarks, and at such length, on the singular publication before us, it may be expected that we should finally pronounce judgment upon it. As the intention of the editor appears to have been good, and as his preface is written with considerable acumen in support of the good cause, we should be unwilling to speak unfavourably of a work, which has no doubt cost him much time and labour. We cannot, however, in conscience, recommend it to him to proceed in his talk, as he intimates some intention of doing. On the contrary, we must say that we heartily disapprove of the plan and execution of the work now before us. No man in his sober senses can believe that any sincere or serious evidence in favour of Christianity, can be wrung out of the writings to which this author has made reference. If the attempt was made to shew his ingenuity, we must be permitted to say, that the subject is a great deal too sacred

sacred and important to be disturbed by such experiments : and if he really imagined that he was strengthening the cause of revelation by a new species of attack on its adversaries, we can only say that his judgment is infinitely less than his learning or his industry.

It is our peculiar felicity in this island, that while infidelity has made such lamentable progress on the Continent, we still continue steadfast, in general, to the faith of our ancestors. The splendid endowments of the hierarchy in Catholic countries, has scarcely been able to maintain the exterior forms of devotion among the higher classes. The priesthood itself is, in many places, infected with the same contagion; and a recent traveller has recorded, that when he was at Rome, he observed a smile of contempt upon the countenances of several of the cardinals, in the midst of the most solemn offices. There are yet no such examples among us : the writings of infidels have made little impression in this country ; and we have as little to fear, we think, from the philosophy, as from the arms of our enemies. In such a situation, we do not think it prudent to familiarize the ears of our youth with their names and their writings, nor to resort to their pages for proofs of the truths they denied. Inconsistencies may no doubt be detected in their statements, and advantage may be taken of their admissions, to refute the conclusions they would impress. But these advantages we reap most effectually, when we treat them as adversaries ; it is a dangerous and indecent frolic to affect to deal with them as auxiliaries ; and, in point of fact, it would be just as easy to prove, that St Paul was a defender of Paganism, as that Mr Gibbon was a champion of Christianity.

ART. IV. *An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes, with Recollections, Descriptions, and References to Historical Facts.* 8vo. pp. 290. Mawman. London, 1805.

THIS is past all enduring. Here is a tour, *travelled, written, published, sold*, and, for any thing we know, *reviewed* by one and the same individual ! We cannot submit patiently to this monstrous monopoly : and are impelled, by a fellow feeling for those industrious persons, whose livings and multiplied functions have been engrossed by this arch pluralist, to remonstrate somewhat loudly against such a dangerous innovation. A cotton-mill, which rolls, cards, and spins at the same instant, is a machine less dreadful to the insulated industry of individuals, than an author and a traveller like Mr Mawman ; and unless something can be done

done to restore the ancient distinction of ranks and subdivisions of labour, we foresee nothing but the most dreadful confusion, and the most ruinous dissensions in the great commonwealth of letters.

It may be suggested, indeed, that this dangerous example is not very likely to be followed, as few booksellers can be supposed equal to the extraordinary exertions of the individual before us. This is probably true; but when one house happens to possess a long list of partners, they may, by distributing the different departments among themselves, accomplish, as a corporation, what Mr Mawman, by superior prowess, has achieved in his own person. They may have their travelling partner, their writing partner, and their reviewing partner; and it will be but fair that the first of these, who in summer is migratory, should in winter become torpid, and be a sleeping partner. In whatever way it is managed, however, the consequence is plain; when booksellers become authors, 'the occupation' of the latter class 'is gone:' and indeed, we think it but a duty to say, that if the experiment should be persisted in, we cannot answer for the personal safety of those who, by depriving them of bread, let loose a host of journeymen writers, in whom the fury of hunger is superadded to the 'fine frenzy' of inspiration. Mr Mawman should remember the perils which attend the monopolist: Or, as Josephus expresses it, (we will not affront a brother author by translating)—

Γὰρ μονωσὶς τοῖς ἀρχουσὶν επικινδυνὸς ἐστίν.

The peace of the metropolis was lately endangered by the theatrical insurrections of the tailors. But what were the outrages dreaded from these heroes, compared with the uproar which may be expected, when the famished inhabitants of Grub-Street issue from their hive, and brandish their pen-knives against the privileged order of Paternoster-row? *Diversa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium armorum facies.* Being more resourceless than any other description of men, they will be proportionally more desperate. They are too awkward for the army: and though, from practice in climbing and living aloft, they may be thought better qualified for the navy, yet, alas! it is the able-bodied, not the able-minded, who meet with encouragement there. In lawless occupations they have almost as little chance of success. For the highway they have no courage; and are generally deficient in that fashionable appearance and address, without which the picking of pockets can rarely be carried on to advantage. In this forlorn and hopeless state, the labouring peasantry of the fields of literature seem to have no alternative left, but to avail themselves of their numbers, and combine to prevent the venders from becoming also the growers of wisdom.

Mr Mawman is too valiant, perhaps, to be moved by considerations of this nature; but we cannot help thinking that the scheme upon which he has fallen, is likely to be as unprofitable to his purse, as we conceive it to be perilous to his person. Upon cool calculation, we believe that experienced tradesmen will not deny that, for a fifth part of what his journey cost,—a few Sunday dinners, and the loan from his shop of Pennant's tour, and Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account, he could have procured from some ingenious gentleman, who had no occasion to stir from his apartments in the King's Bench, a town-made article of a more saleable texture than that which he has himself produced. But if Mr Mawman, from a singular squeamishness of conscience, should unreasonably insist that a country ought to be seen before it is described, and adventures met with before they are related, still he might have enlisted some literary recruit, who, with his knapsack on his shoulders, and the occasional aid of the waggon, (which even Mr Holcroft, when traveller for a London house, did not disdain), would have performed the march on very slender pay; and, though he could not have excited a reader's interest by the aristocratic disasters of a broken down chaise or a sulky driver, might have claimed his sympathy by as piteous a tale of torn shoes or empty pockets.

Upon the whole, we trust that Mr Mawman, from considerations of safety, humanity, and economy, will be moderate at least in the future use of his powers; and will not imitate the custom of these revolutionary days, by forcing a new constitution upon the republic of letters. Let him leave unviolated its old gradation of ranks, and not attempt, like emperors of ancient and modern notoriety, to unite every office in his own person. One of the worst of these made use of the following language, which, although it had but little influence on its hypocritical author, will, we hope, be adopted with sincerity by Mr Mawman, to whom it appears extremely applicable. *Se in parte curarum (viz. bookfelling) experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subjectum fortuna regendi cuncta onus: proinde, in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixâ, non ad unum omnia deferrent. Plures facilius munia reipublicæ societatis laboribus exsecuturos.*

The map prefixed to this volume is a faithful representation of what the latter contains. It resembles those which we find in books of post-roads; and is merely a longitudinal section of the map of Britain, embracing the two great roads from London to Glasgow. Over the easternmost of these, Mr Mawman posted with great rapidity, travelling frequently during the night, with a view, perhaps, to a more varied delineation of the country. Having extended his route to Inverary, about forty miles beyond Glas-

gow,

gow, he returned by the west road, with equal speed, to publish his observations, having completed the tour within the limited period of a summer month. No travels, we will venture to say, of which an account was intended to be written, were ever performed in a shorter period. We know of nothing but the mail-coach that could have kept pace with our author.

Mr Mawman begins his book with the following classical and moral sentence.

‘ On the 10th day of July 1804, two citizens, desigining to take a journey into Scotland, quitted their habitations in the heart of that metropolis, whose merchants, from its extensive commerce, are more important and more honourable than those of any other in the world.’

This outset could not fail of bringing to our minds the renowned and facetious traveller Mr John Gilpin. In rapidity of movement, the chariot-racer of the Poultry resembles very closely the equestrian hero of Cheapside. Both travellers took the same road; and, though Mr Gilpin's tour was considerably shorter than Mr Mawman's, yet it has the counterbalancing advantage of being recorded in rhyme, so that the former may be compared to a highly finished miniature, and the latter to a cartoon.

The travelling companion whom Mr Mawman selected, was a fellow citizen, of whose name we are not informed, but who, we understand, was ‘ a linen-draper bold;’ and in this also we admire our author's judgement; for, as *etiquette* requires that a modern tour should contain some account of the manufactures in the country where it is made, and as Mr Mawman may be supposed to have devoted his attention chiefly to the manufacture of books, it was prudent in him to select a coadjutor who could furnish notices of the rest.

‘ One of the best legacies,’ says Mr Mawman, ‘ which man can bequeath to posterity, is a book enlivened with innocent merriment, or stored with information of solid and extensive utility.’ Without disputing whether Mr Mawman's heirs would be of the same opinion, and whether he might not leave certain legacies which they would value more than even the property of his book, we shall take this sentence as the author's description of his own work, and proceed to consider what information or merriment it affords.

When Mr Mawman enters Cambridgehire, through a corner of which the north road passes, he informs us that the country town is the seat of an university; and that, in his opinion, universities are highly beneficial to the cultivation of literature. This intelligence some fastidious readers may be disposed to undervalue as defective in originality. In a following page, however, they will be highly gratified to find, that Mr Mawman discovered *the*

*tombs* in York-Minster to have been erected by no less a personage than *Death*. 'While we were here viewing the tombs,' says he, 'those trophies erected by *Death*, to record his triumphs over mortality,' &c. Of the Minster itself, he is pleased to observe, that if it were seated upon an elevation like that of Lincoln, it would be seen at a greater distance. Upon his approach to Bawtry, Mr Mawman seems to have been terribly frightened by the sight of a malefactor hanging in chains; and exclaims against exhibitions of this nature, with a fervour which is truly poetical. 'Why,' he feelingly asks, 'should the innocent traveller be alarmed in the midst of security? Why should he be constrained to feed, as it were, upon mangled bodies! and to have his mind filled with a recollection of frightful crimes, and horrible catastrophes?' When near Stamford, he obligingly copies the following notice from his road-book: 'On the right hand is Burleigh Hall, a mansion highly celebrated for its pictures, which we regreted we had not time to inspect.' He takes advantage, however, of this approximation, to fill several pages with a story of the late Lord Exeter's second marriage, which we recollect having seen in all the newspapers at the time of his Lordship's death.

Mr Mawman is not very partial to Scotland. He quotes Churchill as soon as he crosses the Border; and is pleased to observe, that 'the women of the lower classes are *universally* short and brawny, with arid skins, and tarnished complexions, and without any pretensions to beauty.' This is about as accurate as what he says of his not being able to find, in the streets of Edinburgh, 'a single female who buys this day's meal with the price of last night's sin.' Such, however, is his confirmed impression of the ugliness of our Scottish damsels, that upon meeting a plump well-looking girl at Dumbarton, he could not resist inquiring whether she was not a native of England, and was delighted to find that she had come as a servant from that happy region: It is also set down, that 'she said her mother would be very angry with her, if informed that she walked without shoes and stockings!'

On entering the Highlands, Mr Mawman is seized with that fever of the spirits which is so apt to attack all tourists who travel with a view to publication, and breaks out into the following turbulent description.

'Mountain after mountain destitute of trees, contiguous in position, but irregularly *rolling without intermission* or apparent termination; and the wide lakes stretching boldly up the country, amidst the branching chains of naked hills; yet in all the "rude and indigested" mass, resembling what we may suppose Chaos to have been (if we might believe

lieve the tales of poets) after the recent separation of its elements, before the hand of Order had arranged it into its present symmetry, the eye finds nothing repellent, but is struck with the simple magnificence of nature, exhibiting in sublime variety her stupendous monuments.' p. 123—24.

In spite of these raptures, however, he is candid enough to confess, that the country is not very much to his taste; and contrasts the comforts of his town life, with the horrors of a Highland residence, in the true tone of a citizen,—or 'a waiting gentlewoman.'

'It will not appear surprising, that two travellers from the south, living in the bosom of society, with little knowledge of the amusements of fishing, shooting, and hunting; and contrasting these *cold* and *laborious* sports with the gay vivacity of routes, plays, and operas, and, above all, the melancholy solitude of these forlorn wilds with the irresistible charm of literary intercourse, alternately elegant and profound, should be astonished to find an enlightened person spending his entire twelvemonth in such a situation, without the operation of some strong motive, little less than compulsion. p. 132—33.

Of the Highland women, he speaks with horror and compassion. 'Their features,' he says, 'were hardened by exposure to the cold blasts of winter, and contracted into a most unfightly grin by labour, soured by want and misery, and oppressed with deep dejection of spirits.'

Mr Mawman returns by the Falls of the Clyde, with which he appears, if he would confess the truth, to have been more terrified than delighted. He indemnifies himself, however, when he gets out of their hearing, by composing a magnificent parallel between the course of the river and the life of man. As this, we think, is the most splendid and elaborate passage in the whole volume, we beg leave to extract it entire for our reader's admiration.

'But this is only the infancy of the Clyde, whose course may be compared to that of human life. In childhood man is feeble; with his years his strength increases, and he gives the promise of mighty powers; then comes the meridian of life, when, hurried by impetuous passions, and roused by war or the chase, he rushes through woods, and *down precipices*, with irresistible impetuosity. But anon, his spirits begin to flag, and his activity slackens: he moves with leaden pace, bending toward the grave, his body dull and heavy, "fashioned for the journey;" and, finally, he is swallowed up in the ocean of eternity. So it is with the Clyde; here it rises, silently and weakly creeping forward: in its progress, "swollen with many a tributary tide," it glories in its wild career, through forests, and over rocks, and down the sublimest sleeps; then does its force abate, and it moves with lessened activity by Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, till it is lost in the boundless deep!' p. 193. 94.



We look upon this as a very exquisite piece of fine writing. The author, to be sure, in the ardour of composition, seems at one time to have mistaken the man for the river, when he makes him rush through woods, and down *precipices*, with so noble an impetuosity; but the parallel is executed, upon the whole, with infinite spirit and fidelity; and the concluding view of the river passing by Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, is not only a noble picture of itself, but must be admitted to furnish a very striking similitude of the symptoms of human decrepitude.

At the Lakes, Mr Mawman is terribly fatigued, by a ride from Keswick to Buttermere; but his appetite is so much improved by the exercise, that he is pleased to inform us, as a very rare and memorable occurrence, that 'he fed, not for the sake of eating, but from the impulse of nature, and swallowed with avidity.' He laments, however, that no wine was to be procured, and that he and his friend were obliged to regale themselves with scrub and water. The extreme homeliness of this repast seems to have set them a philosophizing in a very edifying manner.

'In the course of conversation we observed, that the Egyptians seem to have thought that land the best, which 'flowed with milk and honey;' that in the opinion of the Greeks, the internal use of honey, and oil applied to the surface of the body, were highly conducive to health; and that the Goths, our ancestors, devoured their meat half raw, supposing the juices to contain the best nourishment. In many respects, those who have preceded us were probably wiser than ourselves. We substitute tea for milk, prefer made dishes to plain meat, and load our stomachs with drugs and stimulants, instead of the wholesome diet which satisfied the simpler appetites of our uncourtly forefathers.' p. 225-26.

Mr Mawman is much struck with the beauty and elegant manners of the mountaineers of Cumberland; and very philosophically supposes, that 'their manners have been improved by copying those of the travellers who visit their lakes!'

The homeward journey is very rapidly sketched. The author's heart warms when he comes in sight of the smoke of London; and he bursts out into the following invidious comparison.

'We reflected with delight on our change of prospect; we contrasted the cultivated fields, the winding rivers, the picturesque ruins, the fine cities, the mighty mountains, the extensive lakes, the tremendous waterfalls, the rich verdure of England, with the wild and sterile sublimity of the Scottish Highlands.' p. 289.

Now, we cannot submit tamely to this trait of English nationality. Mr Mawman may contrast the cultivated fields, and rich verdure of his country, with our heaths and hollows, as triumphantly as he pleases; but, for mighty mountains, extensive lakes, and tremendous waterfalls, we boldly challenge all England to produce

produce any thing like our Highlands. On his entry into London, Mr Mawman admires the grandeur of Finsbury Square, and 'hides his head in the midst of smoke, of toil, and of heart-rending jealousies.'

Upon the whole, Mr Mawman may perceive, that we regard him as a very formidable rival in the department of literature; and that, in resenting his intrusion into a craft, of which we are freemen, we are perfectly aware of the talents by which he might endanger the livelihood and reputation of many of its most industrious members. We flatter ourselves, however, that he will be satisfied with the display he has now made of them; and that, as we have done our endeavour to extend the circle of his admirers, he will allow himself to be moved by our earnest remonstrances, and make it a matter of conscience, not to take the bread out of the mouths of his authors, nor to ruin the mystery of book-making, by combining it with a much more lucrative occupation.

ART. V. *An Inquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain.* By John Macdiarmid Esq. In Two Volumes 8vo. London. C. & R. Baldwin. 1805.

THE task of protecting a nation from external violence becomes gradually more difficult as mankind advance in improvement. While the supreme authority of government affords no sure protection to individuals, war is necessarily the chief occupation of the community. As all are liable to be called upon to repel the attack of an enemy, they insensibly become proficient in the use of arms; and being perpetually engaged in scenes of internal hostility, they acquire all those habits of mind which the circumstances in which they are placed so peculiarly require. As society advances, however, the necessity of acquiring warlike habits is superseded by the introduction of order and subordination; and those peaceful pursuits by which society is improved and adorned, rise to a corresponding degree of estimation and importance.

In these circumstances, men degenerate from the hardy virtues of their ancestors; the accomplishments of a warrior being no longer universally necessary, are gradually neglected; and the great body of the people become comparatively effeminate, and wholly incapable of resisting the attack of a resolute invader. For the partial evils thus resulting to society from a change so eminently beneficial, it is the business of the statesman to provide a suitable remedy. For this purpose there seem to be but two meth-

thods ; either to enforce generally among the people the practice of military exercises, and thus forcibly to preserve a peculiar state of manners, after the circumstances from which they naturally arose have passed away ; or to entrust the general defence to a distinct class of the community, to be maintained by the state, and to direct their whole attention to this important object. It is evidently impossible to determine in which of those two ways a nation is likely to add most materially to its effective strength, without first considering, whether the events of war depend principally on the respective numbers of the troops engaged, or on their relative courage and discipline. If superiority of numbers be the only condition necessary to ensure success, then, undoubtedly, those military establishments are the most perfect in which the greatest proportion of the population of a country is included. If, on the contrary, it is allowed, that the quality of the troops engaged is the essential consideration, then we are necessarily led to inquire, on what moral or physical qualities the perfection of military force depends, and how far those who are engaged in different pursuits, and occasionally devote a portion of their time to military exercises, can be expected to acquire the necessary qualifications of a soldier's character. It is difficult to conceive on what other principles an inquiry into the military policy of a state can be instituted, with the least prospect of conducting it to a satisfactory conclusion.

The design of the work before us, as stated by its author, is to inquire into the propriety of the system of national defence adopted in Britain ; but so ingeniously has Mr Macdiarmid contrived to escape from his subject, that although we have carefully perused his performance, we can by no means pretend to lay before our readers any satisfactory account of his object, or his views. His genius, indeed, appears to delight in digression, and to wanton and exult in the agility of its transitions. The greater part of his work is filled with a variety of heterogeneous details, loosely patched together, with lame and incoherent reasonings ; and we have found it altogether impossible to discern, in the succession of his thoughts, the slightest tendency to any fixed order or arrangement.

It certainly is not very easy to conceive how minute scraps of information, collected from the writings of authors who have laboured in the most opposite departments of literature, should, by any ingenuity, be made to centre in one point. An inquiry into the system of national defence adopted in Britain, would not, we should imagine, necessarily lead the writer to consult Reid on the Active Powers, Barrow's *Travels in China*, Thomson's *Seasons*, or the Report of a Committee on the State  
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of the Coal Trade; nor, indeed, can we fully comprehend the importance of many of the facts which Mr Macdiarmid has gleaned from these unpromising sources. It does not appear to us that we shall enter upon the subject of the national defence with any very great additional advantage, by being previously informed, that, 'in China, our sailors have paid for a ham, and received a piece of wood so dexterously shaped and coloured, that the imposition was not suspected;' that at a Roman entertainment, 'an immense dish of nightingale's tongues was served up as one of the courses,' or that the 'goldsmith, the shoemaker, or tailor, who gives himself out as tradesman to some branch of the royal family, derives no peculiar protection, and generally no custom, from these patrons.' Facts, however, equally interesting and important, are interspersed throughout the whole of Mr Macdiarmid's voluminous performance. He has exerted himself with indefatigable industry, in bringing together an immense collection of details and reasonings, which, as they point to no determinate object, it is quite impossible in any way to connect or arrange, and which he has consequently jumbled together, in the most loose and incoherent manner. He seems, indeed, to have surrendered his mind entirely to the guidance of casual associations, and to have straggled, as chance directed him, into the most extraneous discussions.

His views on the subject of national defence, are founded on an absurd and incorrect analogy, and are on that account extremely partial, and liable indeed to radical objections, which, in the execution of his work, he has rather aggravated than lessened, by his constant propensity to the most prolix and unsatisfactory details. From the following passage, which contains the author's own exposition of his plan, the reader may form some conception of the general character and tendency of the work.

'A system of national defence (he observes) is to a nation, in regard to other nations, what a system of police is to an individual, in regard to the other members of the same community. The object of both, is to secure the persons and property of a people against violence.

'But as long as violence continues to be attempted, there are no other means by which the inhabitants of a country can assert either their national or their individual security, unless by either sacrificing, injuring, or exposing to injury, a portion of the persons and property, which are intended to be preserved. But, in as far as a portion of the persons and property of a people is sacrificed to maintain the system of national defence, or the system of police, the end proposed by these systems is frustrated. They are intended to preserve from injury the persons

persons and property of the community ; and therefore, in as far as they produce injury to these persons and this property, they counteract the very purpose for which they are established. A system of national defence, or a system of police, must therefore be perfect, in proportion as it affords the greatest security against violence, with the least injury to the persons and property which it is intended to protect.'

Mr Macdiarmid, after observing that, in general, the injury arising to nations from those establishments which they are compelled to maintain, in order to defend themselves from external violence, have tended very perceptibly to encroach upon their population and their wealth, next proceeds to state, that it is the object of his work ' to discover, if possible, the means of averting a similar ruin from Great Britain, and of rendering her secure against external violence, without diminishing her internal prosperity.'

It is perfectly obvious, that, according to this plan, the capital question, whether a system of national defence be adequate to the attainment of its proposed end, will be only considered incidentally, or along with other points which, in Mr Macdiarmid's estimation, are equally interesting and important. If it be true, indeed, that states have been frequently brought to ruin by applying too great a proportion of their resources to the maintenance of warlike establishments, then, undoubtedly, there are two objects which a wise statesman, in providing for the defence of a nation, will have equally in view. He will not consider security against external violence as the principal end to be attained : the arrangements which he may conceive necessary for the safety of the state, will be considerably modified by the apprehension of encroaching too deeply on her internal opulence and prosperity. The slightest glance at the records of history, however, we apprehend, will demonstrate that nations have been frequently ruined by the inefficiency, but never by the burden, of their warlike establishments ; and that, in those few states where an efficient system of military policy has been adopted, its superiority has been invariably manifested by the humiliation of rival powers. It is, besides, perfectly clear, that where one state is solely intent on the improvement of its warlike resources, and renders its opulence and prosperity wholly subservient to that object, every neighbouring community must adopt a similar policy, however materially it may interfere with the progress of internal improvement.

The comparative stability which the kingdoms of modern Europe continued for such a length of time to enjoy, must be partly ascribed to that general similarity in their manners, and in the circumstances

circumstances in which they were placed, which, by uniting them in close and intimate relations, subjected each to the constant observation of its neighbours, and rendered it impossible for any one to circumscribe, within its own frontier, the beneficial effects of any important discovery or improvement. Hence the maintenance of standing armies, (an improvement which, in the ancient world, being confined to one particular state, was generally the forerunner of the most important revolutions,) was introduced into modern Europe, not only without any of those signal changes which it had formerly produced, but without even materially deranging the mutual relations of its various states. Had England, however, been enabled, by her superior opulence and improvement, to maintain a standing army so early as the 12th or 13th century, it is extremely probable, that her monarchs must have ultimately succeeded in effecting the complete conquest of France. The first and only object, therefore, of every system of national defence, is security; and, until we are assured how far it is likely to attain this its essential end, all other considerations must be disregarded. Every rich nation has indeed a choice between two alternatives, either to provide a force competent to repel foreign aggression, whatever it may cost, or to hold its independence at the mercy of a more powerful neighbour. The object, therefore, which Mr Macdiarmid has in view, namely, to render Britain secure, without diminishing her internal prosperity, appears to us to be completely unattainable. Does he imagine that Britain can be defended without expence? Or, that the taxes which it may be necessary to impose for the maintenance of her warlike establishments, will not tend to obstruct her advancement in opulence? We are completely at a loss to conceive how he can propose to illustrate his subject by tedious discussions relative to national prosperity in general. It was his business merely to consider how far the system of defence adopted in Britain, was calculated to add to the effective strength of the nation. Instead of which, he has rambled into the most idle and unprofitable digressions.

In his first chapter, he enters into a variety of wearisome details, for the purpose of proving that Britain is rapidly advancing in wealth and improvement. Her agriculture, according to Mr Macdiarmid, is, ‘*as yet, in its infancy* ;’ and he shews, by the unerring calculations of political arithmetic, that nearly one half of the island is either completely waste, or ‘*cultivated in such a manner as to be extremely unproductive*.’ We are however informed, that its population, in proportion to its surface, is greater than that of any other country in Europe; and that, even in London, the births have begun to exceed the deaths.

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He next proceeds to point out the progress of commerce and of manufactures, and continues to enrich his subject with a variety of copious and minute details, from which it is impossible to make any selection, as they are all equally interesting and important, and as the catalogue of facts, which he exhibits, is already reduced to the naked simplicity of an index. We must therefore content ourselves with recommending them to the attention of the *patient* reader, reminding him, at the same time, that Mr Macdiarmid rather chooses to expose himself to the imputation of tediousness and prolixity, than run the risk, on subjects of such unquestionable importance, of being either inaccurate or obscure. Those who are disposed to indulge gloomy speculations respecting the future destiny of Britain, will surely lay aside their apprehensions, when they are assured by this author, that ‘ unless an earthquake should swallow up her soil, or a deluge sweep her inhabitants from its surface, her wealth cannot depart while her industry remains.’

Having thus clearly demonstrated, that the nation is daily adding to its riches, Mr Macdiarmid is naturally led to consider how far our *morals* are endangered by the accumulation of our wealth, as it is evident that no nation can be regarded as truly prosperous, which exhibits indications of relaxed morals. This inquiry is perfectly consonant, therefore, to the general plan of the work, and may be vindicated on the same principles as the *exposé* of our resources.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to point out the effects of the division of labour on the state of society, and proves, in a most convincing manner, that Britain continues to improve ‘ in private virtue of every kind, in freedom, patriotism, good order, and religion.’

In the second chapter, ‘ the obstructions to the prosperity of Great Britain, arising from the means employed for her defence,’ are considered. Had we been exempted, during the whole of the last hundred years, from the charges which were necessarily incurred in the maintenance of our fleets and armies, Mr Macdiarmid reckons, that, at the close of the 19th century, our wealth and population would have been double its actual amount. The calculations on which he founds this estimate are extremely curious and interesting. He supposes the nation to have been involved in war during one half of the last century; and that, during this period, 200,000 men have been, on an average, employed in warlike pursuits, and have consequently been lost to the productive industry of the country. This circumstance, he very naturally concludes, must have operated as a powerful check to her commercial advancement. The actual loss incurred, he estimates, very much

much at his ease, at 400 millions Sterling. The number of men maintained by Britain, during the period of peace, he supposes, on a moderate computation, might amount to 50,000. He has neglected, indeed, to specify in pounds Sterling the exact *quantum* of damage which productive industry must sustain by the burden of supporting such a force; but the omission is not by any means material, as he assures us, that the aggregate amount of the loss incurred during both the period of peace and of war, is exactly equal to the whole wealth and population existing in the island at the close of the 19th century. All this speculation is evidently as unmeaning as it is inaccurate and presumptuous. If defence be necessary, it must be paid for; and it is as idle to calculate how much richer we should have been, if we had not had to pay our soldiers and sailors, as it would be to reckon up the treasures that might have been accumulated, if we had not had to provide ourselves with meat, clothes, and fire.

It would be useless to detain our readers with any account of the miscellaneous statements contained in the remainder of this chapter—the author's account of the Dutch and German Jews in London, or 'the general mismanagement of the capital employed in the tenure of steelbow.' Suffice it to say, that having satisfactorily proved that the warlike establishments of Britain tend to impede the even tenor of her progress to opulence, he is naturally led to inquire whether the evils which arise from this source can be either palliated or removed. After examining the various expedients which have been adopted or suggested for that purpose, he is decidedly of opinion, that they are all inadequate to the proposed end; and he closes his speculations on this subject, with the following profound reflection, which, we will venture to say, vies, in convincing clearness, with the plainest proposition in Euclid. 'There seem to be but the two ways already mentioned' (he observes), 'in which a reduction of the public expenditure can take place; either by shortening the period of war, and thus taking off the expences of an extraordinary war establishment; or by introducing such alterations into the system of defence, as that it shall afford all necessary security to the nation, and at the same time be much less expensive.' In other words, Britain will effect a very material reduction in her annual expenditure, by making peace and disbanding her armies, or by introducing such alterations in her military establishments *as shall be less expensive!*

The possibility of shortening the period of the war, is considered in the fifth chapter, which is chiefly remarkable for the ingenuity with which our author compresses, within the compass of three pages,



pages, a *short* sketch of the history of England, from the earliest period of which we have any authentic record, to the present times. His object is to shew, that it is an absurd prejudice to consider France as the natural enemy of Britain. He then proceeds to inform his readers, that, in the second part of his work, he will consider, whether the system of national defence actually adopted in this country, is susceptible of improvement. No sooner, however, has he announced this pleasing intelligence, than he commences a long dissertation on the propriety of employing foreign assistance in her defence. And because statesmen have occasionally formed rash and imprudent alliances, and allies have frequently proved faithless and interested, he seems to condemn every species of convention between contiguous and independent powers. He thus wisely reasons from possible contingencies, or from the accidental errors of practical politicians, against those sure and unchangeable maxims of political science, on which the whole fabric of European policy has been reared, and of which the experience of more than a century has amply displayed the salutary effects.

The fatal events which have ultimately terminated in the subversion of that system, so far from furnishing any just argument against the principles on which it is founded, only prove, that the influence of unforeseen accidents is not wholly excluded from the direction of human affairs. The destruction of the ancient order of political society in Europe, has not besides been produced by anomalous or unseen causes. We have already had occasion to remark, that a superiority of warlike strength has been, in all ages, a sure source of national grandeur and pre-eminence; and that those states who have adopted an efficient system of military policy, have invariably triumphed over the independence of their neighbours. Reasoning from this fact, it was natural to conclude, that a sudden and unexpected increase in the military strength of the most powerful and central nation in Europe, would lead to very important changes in the political relations of the European states. Wherever a variety of independent communities are connected by contiguous frontiers, it seems essentially necessary to the security of each, either that there should exist a perfect equality of individual strength, or that the existence of the weaker states should be guaranteed by the protection of their more powerful neighbours. That an equality of strength cannot long subsist between a number of rival nations, is a proposition too obvious to require illustration. One particular state must sooner or later acquire an undue ascendancy; and then it is evident, that those states who are incapable of making an effectual resistance by their separate efforts, must oppose to the encroachments

encroachments of their common enemy, the more formidable barrier of confederated strength. By forming alliances, and uniting their resources, they will at least secure to themselves one chance of deliverance from the rapacity of ambition. In the ancient world, those obvious maxims, though they seem to have been familiar to speculative politicians, do not appear to have been generally incorporated into the practical policy of nations; and indeed it is not easy to conceive how they could have been followed out in practice, while the arts and sciences were yet in their infancy, while those grand improvements on which the complicated scheme of modern policy depends for its energy and perfection, were unknown, and while the channels of political intelligence and communication must have been very irregular and uncertain.

As Mr Macdiarmid's views of foreign policy seem to hinge altogether on the following profound axiom, namely, that a great state should disunite itself from all external relations, and rest its security entirely on its own internal strength; we are surprised that he does not refer his readers, for a confirmation of his principles, to ancient history, where the system of foreign policy which he recommends was very strictly adhered to, and where its effects were, of course, very fully displayed. The nations of antiquity were connected by none of those alliances which Mr Macdiarmid so strenuously condemns; it does not appear that they even entered into confederacies for the purpose of checking the undue aggrandizement of any rising power. Hence they were all subjected, in regular succession, to the Roman yoke; nor does their partial and insulated hostility ever seem to have interposed a perceptible check to the increasing grandeur of that immense empire. The expedition of Hannibal into Italy, forms, indeed, an exception to this general remark; and it is truly wonderful to consider, how, in that age of the world, such an extensive scheme of hostile operations could have been planned. We are at a loss indeed to determine, whether the power of Hannibal's extraordinary genius was most particularly displayed in the conception, or in the prosecution of his vast designs. In Greece, too, which was composed of a variety of petty and independent states, and which afforded, on that account, peculiar facilities for perfecting a system of foreign policy, it is easy to discern the rude and unformed image of the balancing system. With these exceptions, however, it may be generally observed of all the nations of antiquity, that they appear to have been ruined by their own blind providence. They never seem to have been roused from their dream of security, until every preparatory measure was completed for ensuring their destruction. Now, it is the peculiar  
boast

boast of modern policy, by vigilance and circumspection, to provide against evils before they are imminent and formidable; and to check the undue encroachment of ambition, while it is yet practicable, by measures of timely and preventive security. This desirable end can only be effected by that general system of guarantee and alliance which Mr Macdiarmid so ignorantly condemns; for no other reason that we can discover, but because alliances have been often imprudently and rashly formed.

The remainder of the chapter is employed in examining the policy of subsidizing allies, and of employing foreign mercenaries, on which subject Mr Macdiarmid has accumulated a variety of most minute information, for the purpose of proving, that the fidelity of foreign mercenaries cannot be depended on; that they are dangerous to liberty; and that, consequently, they are a source rather of weakness than of strength. He next enters into a tedious dissertation on the propriety of augmenting 'the national resources applicable to defence,' which has really so little relation to the subject of his work, that our readers will readily excuse us for passing on to the consideration of the third chapter; the object of which seems to be, to point out the best means of rendering a people warlike. After a few observations on its multifarious contents, we shall take the opportunity of shortly stating what we conceive to be the most effectual mode of calling forth the warlike energies of a populous and opulent nation.

As we really cannot collect, from Mr Macdiarmid's reasonings, what is his precise object, we cannot pretend to follow him through all the digressions and declamations he has contrived to introduce upon this subject. The following paradox, namely, 'that a nation is rendered warlike by peace, and effeminate by war,' would have induced feeble minds to reconsider very scrupulously the nature of the facts from which so strange a position could have been deduced. In this respect, however, we are convinced that Mr Macdiarmid has acted with singular prudence; he had no doubt considered the danger of all useless experiments, and had wisely reflected, that his work, like Don Quixote's helmet, might have prematurely perished, had its merits been subjected to too rude a trial.

After examining how far a state of improvement affects the warlike character of nations, our author next proceeds to consider whether the influence of climate has any tendency to promote or impede the acquisition of martial virtues; and because the most opposite varieties of national character have been in different ages displayed under the same climate, he thinks himself warranted to conclude, that the influence of climate is a complete chimera. He does not seem to consider that the characters

characters of nations are formed by the combined operation of moral and of physical causes; and that, in one age, the physical influence of climate may be felt without any controul; while, in a succeeding age, it may be modified and counteracted by the operation of more powerful moral causes. In an early stage of society it undoubtedly predominates in the formation of the human character; but it is the glory of an enlightened government to counteract its debasing influence, and to fashion the manners under the forming hand of legislative skill.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to observe, that different habits are absolutely necessary to enable the mind to encounter, with intrepidity, different modes of peril. After a long dissertation on boxing and bull-baiting, interspersed with references to the Spartan manners, and to the fights of gladiators, he at length concludes, that there is no relation between ferocity and intrepidity, and loudly declares against all barbarous pastimes. He is particularly impressible, however, when he attempts to prove the efficacy of religious opinions, in animating men in seasons of danger. 'The religion of Mahomet (he observes) promises the believer, who dies in battle against infidels, the fairest hours, and the most exquisite luxuries of paradise. It was common with the Saracen youths to rush into the thickest of the battle, and to receive the mortal thrusts of their enemies with a shout of exultation, in the firm expectation of being immediately transferred to groves of eternal verdure, where pleasures ever new were to be enjoyed in the company of the black-eyed virgins.' With respect to the Christian religion, he observes, that by distinctly revealing the great truth of the immortality of the soul, and by spreading among the great body of the people, more positive information respecting their condition in a future state of existence, it has contributed to render men much more intrepid on the approach of death; and he is of opinion, that those great truths could never have been 'impressed with sufficient force on the minds of men, unless life and immortality had been brought to light by the gospel.'

Mr Macdiarmid, however, must surely be aware that it is the policy of every commander to prevent his troops from dwelling on the thought of death, or from imagining that the business in which they are engaged has any peculiar tendency to bring them nearer to a state of immortality. It may no doubt be very reasonable and proper for a preacher to declaim about death, before a secure and sleepy audience; but we cannot help imagining, that it would be as injudicious as well as an unusual subject, for the address of a general to his army. The

idea of immortality, we are afraid, is too abstract and spiritual to interest the feelings of soldiers on the eve of battle; and we suspect they would listen with no great animation to the most eloquent lecture that could be delivered to them upon such a subject. Their worthy chaplain, we conceive, would find it a difficult matter to make them rush desperately on the enemy, by the most inspiring representations he could possibly make of the glory that awaited them in another world.

Having now concluded our remarks on Mr Macdiarmid's performance, we shall venture to make a few observations on some of the important subjects of which we expected him to have treated. It appears to us, from the most careful survey of historical evidence, that a well equipped army has, in all ages, been a sure foundation of political independence and power; and that such armies have been the immediate and efficient instruments in bringing about all those important revolutions in the affairs of mankind, of which history has preserved any authentic record. It is therefore very material to inquire, what are the peculiar qualities which characterize soldiers, and in what manner those qualities naturally arise out of the peculiar constitution which armies have in all ages invariably assumed. This inquiry seems to be particularly necessary, because the constitution of an army is not the fanciful device of any rash projector; its fundamental principles are grounded on the unchangeable qualities of the human mind, and have on that account remained stationary, amid the varying fashions, manners, and improvements of mankind; it has, indeed, grown out of the nature of society, and has been found by the universal experience of mankind, to be well calculated to fit those who are trained under its regulations for the purposes of war.

The perfection of a military force consists undoubtedly in an instant and complete obedience to command; not indeed on a parade, where any man may, without much exertion, yield a ready compliance with whatever is enjoined him; but it is in braving every mode of peril and of death, in obedience to orders, that the military character is exhibited in its genuine perfection. It is therefore the object of discipline, not only to establish authority on a solid foundation, by training men to a constant familiarity with the peremptory decrees of martial law, but also to facilitate and secure obedience, by forming and bringing to maturity, those habits of mind which enable them, bravely and cheerfully, to confront danger. There arises, besides, in all armies, when they are engaged in the operations of war, and exposed to its perils, a peculiar system of manners, which very materially assists the effect

of positive institutions. From the ardour of zeal, emulation and honour, which the situation in which soldiers are placed naturally produces, men are animated to unusual exertions of valour; they glory and rejoice in scenes, which the mind, in its natural state, contemplates with horror. It is only, also, in the pressing emergencies of real service, that a commander has an opportunity of securing the confidence, and consolidating the affections of his troops; by displaying courage, capacity, and presence of mind, in the midst of danger; by an unwearying attention to the comforts of the soldiers; by showing, on all occasions, a zealous attachment to the character and profession, and by cheerfully participating in all the dangers and privations to which they are exposed. By these means, all great generals have contrived to communicate to their troops an extraordinary portion of heroic zeal: By operating on their minds by peculiar incentives, they have given new energy to all those principles on which the excellence of the military character depends, and have called forth in their service, all those enthusiastic feelings which, in the hour of danger, animate the passions, and fortify the heart. Men who have been accustomed to this sort of training, very soon acquire all those moral habits which teach them fearlessly to expose themselves to danger, and it is entirely in those qualities of the mind that we are to look for that grand distinction which exists between soldiers and men employed in peaceful occupations; and for that superiority in the field, which has always enabled armies to discomfit and disperse every species of irregular force which has been rashly exposed to their attack.

We conceive it, therefore, highly dangerous and impolitic in any state to rely for its security on the efforts of men who are not soldiers; who employ themselves only occasionally in acquiring mechanical dexterity in the use of arms, but who devote the chief portion of their time and attention to pursuits wholly different. It is impossible that men, placed in such circumstances, can ever acquire the characteristic habits and feelings of soldiers; and it has been found, by experience, that they have never been able to withstand the shock of a regular army. Whenever, therefore, the military force of any state is formed, either wholly, or in part, of the unwarlike population of the country, who may, no doubt, be very easily assimilated in external appearance, but who never can acquire the real character of soldiers, it appears to us, that very great inconvenience and danger must be the inevitable result. In contriving a scheme of warlike operations, it is necessary very seriously to consider the nature and character of the troops who are to be employed: It would, no doubt, be

extremely culpable in a commander, to waste the energies of a veteran force in feeble and indecisive warfare; but it would evidently lead to consequences still more disastrous, if raw and inexperienced levies were appointed to execute plans of bold and offensive hostility. But if the same army is composed of troops of the most opposite descriptions, how is it possible to combine their exertions in the prosecution of one object? The mode of warfare to be pursued, must either be adapted to the one sort of force, or to the other. The regular army must either be clogged by the incumbrance of an inferior force, and the general system of military operations consequently enfeebled; or troops, imperfectly disciplined, must be ordered upon services which they are not qualified to perform, and may involve, in their defeat, the discomfiture of the whole body.

To assimilate new levies to regular soldiers, and to range them in solid battalions in the same line, appears to us to be an experiment, in other respects, full of danger. In all the various and unlooked for fluctuations of affairs which may occur in a battle, the new levies might be left alone to sustain the fiercest onset; and on their steadings the event of the day might possibly depend. By unforeseen accidents, they might be surrounded by perils, which it would require the collected fortitude of veterans to repel; they might be placed in positions which they could not maintain, or appointed to services which they could not perform. We cannot conceive how they would be at all competent to execute any scheme of offensive hostility, to the attack of any important post, which being defended by veteran troops advantageously posted, might not perhaps be carried but by the reiterated efforts of desperate intrepidity. The danger, therefore, of conjoining new levies in any great proportion with regular soldiers is manifest; and either in this case, or where the whole force of a country is composed of troops imperfectly disciplined, there is no chance of safety in case of invasion, but by resorting to a system of defensive warfare, which, in an open or level country, can never be ultimately successful, except through the misconduct of the enemy, and which, even in a country abounding in strong positions, is of very doubtful issue. With a force imperfectly disciplined to check veteran troops by a judicious combination of scientific movements; to choose positions so excellent as to bid defiance to the efforts of the most enterprising enemy, and so to fortify and secure them, that superior gallantry should be only a passport to destruction, requires such skill and talents, and such a series of prosperous chances, that it would be quite unsafe for any state to hazard its safety on such a rare conjunction. The invading army might, by  
rapid

Rapid and daring hostility, render nugatory a system of defensive tactics; they might force their enemy to a battle in defence of some capital object; and how uncertain and precarious would such a contest be, if success depended on the persevering valour of inexperienced troops! It appears to us to be an incontrovertible position, that an invader, who possesses an army excellently trained and disciplined, and who is opposed by a force of an inferior character, will ultimately succeed in his views, if he is sufficiently rapid and enterprising in his movements, so as to prevent both the spirit of adventure from languishing among his followers, and the invaded country from concentrating its physical strength; and we imagine, that where invasions in similar circumstances have not succeeded, it has only been because the hostile commander, instead of pursuing a system of bold and sanguinary hostility, has wasted the energies of his troops in feeble, indecisive, and protracted warfare, which, in his situation, leads more surely to destruction, than the blindest temerity. How quickly did Suwarrow subdue the Polish insurgents, by the celerity of his motions, and the unparalleled boldness of his designs?

It appears to us, that the events of war are determined by the united influence of discipline and tactics; and that, consequently, the perfection of the military art is produced by a combination of skilful tactics, with a high state of discipline. Were the distinction between those two sources of excellence well understood, and sufficiently attended to, it might, in our opinion, lead to a more clear elucidation of events which have been but imperfectly accounted for on general principles, and have, for that reason, led to much misconception. A general may have brought his troops to the highest possible degree of discipline, but he may not have matured a system of tactics to a corresponding degree of perfection; or, an unskilful general may be entrusted with the command of excellent troops, and may be opposed by a more skilful commander with an army inferior in discipline; and the superiority of tactics on the one side may more than counterbalance an inferiority of discipline. But are we from thence rashly to infer, that troops, imperfectly disciplined, are a match for a veteran force, or that discipline has not a most important influence on the decision of battles? It might be argued with equal propriety, that, in military operations, superiority of numbers is not a very material advantage, because it has been frequently more than counterbalanced by the talents of a skilful general. The object of a great commander, who is well acquainted with his troops, and who has gained their confidence, is generally to bring his enemy to battle on fair and equal terms; and, if that object cannot be



attained, to attack even at a disadvantage. His decision must be guided entirely by the circumstances of the case; and, in forming a correct estimate of the comparative advantages of the enemy's position, and of the superior discipline of his troops, the event of the battle, and his own character for prudence and judgment, must wholly depend.

Hannibal had brought his troops to a most astonishing state of discipline, and he had chosen a mode of warfare admirably adapted to display their warlike virtues: he always endeavoured to bring his enemy to battle on equal terms; and the event was constantly in his favour. The excellence of Fabius was chiefly manifested in his tactics; he had formed a correct estimate of the character, both of his own troops and of that of the enemy; and he had chosen his defensive positions with such admirable judgment, that Hannibal, with all the advantages of a highly disciplined force, did not think proper to hazard an attack. The successful execution of those manœuvres, by which he contrived to elude the effects of superior discipline, class him among the greatest generals. His troops, however, having been manœuvred for some time in the face of an enemy, must have very nearly approached to the standard of discipline generally to be found in armies; yet, in the battle of Cannæ, it was seen how much inferior they were, in those qualities which constitute the perfection of soldiers, to Hannibal's veterans. Turenne, it is said, was chiefly remarkable for his tactical skill; the great qualities of Condé were displayed, in the day of battle, in inspiring his soldiers with heroic ardour and enthusiasm. In the civil wars, during the reign of Charles the First, there is no appearance of tactical skill; the battles were chiefly decided by discipline; and no man excelled Cromwell in the forming of troops. That singular character, by ingrafting military enthusiasm on religious fanaticism, brought the military character to unrivalled perfection, and decided the fortune of the war. The talents of King William were principally displayed in awakening the enthusiasm of his soldiers. It is remarked by Bishop Burnet, that he committed great errors of conduct, but that he possessed a heroic courage, which inflamed all about him. The obstacles which he surmounted in the defence of his country, would have staggered the resolution of common minds; and if the French generals had pushed their advantages with sufficient vigour, his resistance would have been ineffectual; but they allowed the war to assume a languid and indecisive character; and, in the mean time, the Dutch troops acquired, under the presiding genius of the Prince of Orange, all the warlike habits of soldiers, and were soon

He enabled to cope with their enemies in the field. Marlborough seems to have united in his character all the qualities of a great general; to have combined skilful tactics with the most admirable discipline; not only to have excelled in perfecting his instrument, but to have been equally dexterous in using it with the best possible effect. His troops appear to have possessed, in the greatest perfection, all those qualities which, in the hour of peril, render the heart impregnable to panic or dismay; and they were led on to contend for victory and for fame, by commanders of tried courage and capacity, who exalted, by their own example, the ardour of their troops, to the highest possible elevation of heroic zeal. It was particularly remarked in the battle of Ramillies, how conspicuously every officer of rank distinguished himself; and even the Dutch general Monsieur Auverquerque, forgetting his years and infirmities, was seen every where in the hottest of the fire, encouraging and animating his men to prodigies of valour. Marlborough did not waste the energies of such troops in feeble and indecisive hostility; his mode of warfare was entirely adapted to the nature and character of the force which he commanded, and was admirably calculated to display the effects of superior discipline; he hazarded every thing, and depended, in the day of battle, on the tried fidelity and courage of his soldiers, and on the sure resources of his own genius, for a glorious result. He was fettered, at the outset of his career, by the timid caution of the Dutch generals; but with such a force, and such a commander, it was prudence to attempt the boldest and most adventurous designs. The superiority of Marlborough's troops, in steady and desperate valour, was recognized by his enemies, who felt themselves unable to withstand them in the field, and frequently deserted their strongest positions at his approach. The whole history indeed of his campaigns, illustrates strikingly, so far at least as respects the relative discipline of the troops engaged, the theory of offensive and defensive war, and shows plainly how difficult it is to defend the strongest positions against an army very highly disciplined, and led on by a bold and enterprising commander. The victories of Suwarrow are principally to be ascribed to the astonishing discipline of his troops; they had attained to the highest possible perfection in all military qualities, and he accordingly employed them, almost entirely, in the boldest and most sanguinary operations of offensive hostility. The assault of Ismail and of Warlaw, and the attack of the French position at Novi, are almost unrivalled in the annals of military enterprise.

As it appears, therefore, that the success of military operations so materially depends on the discipline of the troops employed, nothing can be conceived more impolitic in any state, than to rely

for its defence on a force of inferior quality, and thus voluntarily to relinquish one of the requisite conditions either for acting offensively with effect, or for ensuring the speedy discomfiture of an invading enemy. The independence of such a state, when attacked by a regular army, though not exposed to certain destruction, must yet rest on a very insecure foundation. Its defence may no doubt be rendered possible, by a strong barrier of fortified towns, by the nature of a country abounding with strong positions, and by the unskilful management of the invading army. If a commander, with a force trained and disciplined, after beating his enemy in the field, does not push his advantages with rapidity and vigour; if he allows them to recover from the consternation of his first victories; to recruit and reanimate their broken and disheartened troops; to secure their strong holds; and to consolidate the physical strength of the country against him, his ultimate ruin is certain. He ought never to allow his men to rest in pursuit of a routed foe; neither ought he to stand wavering and deliberating before passes and strong positions, but to appal his enemy by the rapidity of his movements, and the boldness of his designs; always considering, that the most sanguinary and desperate hostility is his surest policy, and that the blindest temerity does not lead more surely to destruction in the end, than a system of protracted and indecisive warfare. As it appears to us, therefore, that a regular army, skilfully commanded, has always effected the ruin of a country defended by a less effective species of force, we are inclined to think, that a nation ought to rest its security solely on a regular army; and if it be thought expedient to arm the population of the country, that it should form a force wholly and decisively irregular; not gathered into battalions, nor appointed to shock with the enemy in the regular conflict of the field. In a country especially which possesses few positions, either strong by nature or fortified by art, and arrived at such a state of improvement, as to afford every facility for internal communication, it has always appeared to us, that the main reliance should be placed upon a disciplined and disposable army, and that it would be a rash and hazardous experiment to collect the unwarlike population into gross and solid masses, and expose it in the front of the battle to the charge of a practised assailant.

Such is the opinion which we are disposed to form on the general question as to the best means of defence, considered without reference to the actual condition of any particular country. We are by no means prepared, however, to say that it is applicable at all points to the present situation of Great Britain; or that there is, in this particular case, so essential a difference between our volunteer and our regular force, as to make us wish to see

the former superseded in a great measure by the latter. Our volunteers are not merely an armed multitude; they have been embodied for a number of years, and have attained, in many instances, to a very respectable state of discipline and knowledge. The money which has been bestowed upon them might perhaps have provided a more efficient and serviceable army; but this was a voluntary expenditure; and half the sum raised by compulsion would have been felt as a serious oppression. Our volunteers, then, are too good to be parted with; and are certainly more fit for service than any other form of an armed population can possibly be.

This, however, is but one half of the question; our volunteers, as they now are, are not only much better than an armed multitude, but our regular army, we are afraid, is something worse than the regular army of our opponents, and does not seem to possess all those requisites which entitle it to be contrasted with forces of another description. It is not being enlisted in a regular corps that can make a man a soldier—it is not receiving daily pay—nor appearing twice a day on the parade—nor being expert at the manual exercise, and familiar with the eighteen manœuvres. It is the experience of danger—it is a practical knowledge of the business of war—it is real service in the face of an enemy. Now it is obvious, that there is but a small proportion of our regular army which can boast of this qualification. We have 16,000, perhaps, who were in Egypt, and about as many more who were in Holland, and in the West Indies; but the great body of our army has no military experience; and will be as new to actual service as the militia and volunteers, with whom it has become usual to contrast them. All they can boast of at present, then, is, the exactness of parade discipline, and superior expertness in those exercises, in which it is not disputed that volunteers may be made to rival them. When the necessity of fighting comes, we have no doubt that they will rapidly acquire all the other requisites of the military character: but the volunteers, if they are called into action, will acquire them also; and if they start with the same advantages, as to mere bodily discipline and activity, they will probably acquire them as rapidly. A volunteer completely drilled, we take it, is fit for any thing that a regular soldier is fit for, who has never seen service; and, if they are sent into the field together, will ripen into a veteran as soon as his comrade. It does not appear to us that it will impair his martial ardour in any considerable degree, that, after he has learned all that he can learn out of actual service, he should work at a peaceable trade, instead of going about idle, till the occasion for service arrives; or, that he will fight the  
worse

worse upon that occasion, for having a home and a family to fight for.

These considerations make us hesitate a good deal, about the expediency of any measure that may deprive us of a force that has been provided at a great expence, both of money and of time, and which is by no means so decidedly inferior to our regular army, as seems to have been sometimes imagined; at the same time, we are very sensible, that the constitution of many of the volunteer corps is such, as to render it extremely doubtful whether it would be prudent to bring them into actual service. They contain many, whose physical qualifications, and inveterate habits, unfit them for the labours of actual warfare; and very many, who would do more valuable service to the country in other occupations. Those who are pointed out by nature as the fighting men of the country, are by no means to be all found in the ranks of the volunteers; and there are many there, who cannot be classed under that denomination. Some reduction, therefore, of the volunteer establishment, would probably be advantageous; and we have no doubt that still greater benefit would result from the practice of training a larger proportion of them to the exercises of irregular warfare. They should be carefully exercised in firing at marks, and in suddenly dispersing and assembling in small bodies, as well as in accomplishing considerable journies, and providing for their shelter and subsistence, in cases of emergency;—acting in this manner, in subserviency to the regular forces, they might be the means of the most dispiriting annoyance and fatal obstruction to the enemy; and secure a decisive victory, without ever encountering the hazard of a ruinous defeat.

Our limits will no longer permit us to enlarge upon these interesting questions; but it is proper to observe, that there is one whole branch of the inquiry, which has been unaccountably neglected, in the whole of the discussions with which the country has lately been agitated. We allude to the education and training of the officers, by whom the army, whether regular or irregular, is to be commanded. The two cardinal virtues of a military force, we have already stated, are Discipline and Tactics. The former, relates chiefly to the men—the latter, to the officers. Actual warfare is, undoubtedly, the best school for both; and the same circumstances, which have prevented our regulars from acquiring all the habits of veteran soldiers, have no doubt thrown formidable obstacles in the way of the professional accomplishment of their commanders. Something, however, may certainly be done to promote these accomplishments;—and something more than has yet been undertaken, or apparently meditated, by our Government. Perhaps the reform should be begun by the decisive measure of prohibiting

hibiting the sale of commissions; and establishing, throughout the country, a variety of military academies, where the youth might be regularly trained to a scientific knowledge of the principles of their profession. A general taste for such acquisitions might also be promoted, by the example of a few persons in eminent situations; and by the endowment of professorships, for the different branches of military science, in most of the universities. Encouragement should also be given to young men who would go abroad as volunteers into foreign services; and honours and promotion made the reward of those who brought back certificates of their gallantry and proficiency. We throw out these hints with diffidence: but, in the present crisis of our affairs, it appears to us that something ought to be done, to put us on a footing with a nation of warriors, and to give the bravest people upon earth the full use of its bravery.

ART. VI. *Considerations arising from the Debates in Parliament, on the Petition of the Irish Catholics.* By Sir John Throckmorton, Bart. London, 1806.

THE subject to which this pamphlet relates, is one which has, during late years, occupied in a very considerable degree the attention of those who think, and of those who do not think, among British politicians. About a twelvemonth since, in particular, it received from both houses of Parliament, that full and serious discussion which was due to the magnitude of the interests involved in it, to the solemnity of a petition proceeding from a fifth part of the population of our islands, and to the authority of those statesmen by whom it was advised and supported. The prayer of the petition was at that time refused; and it is probable, that this question will not come again under the consideration of the Legislature for some years to come; but recur it certainly will, at some period or other, and probably before any material change can be effected in the circumstances under which we now contemplate it. Such, indeed, must have been the opinion of the author of the pamphlet before us, which, being published after the heat and ardour of the conflict are over, seems rather to court the attention of thinking men, than the curiosity and prejudices of the multitude.

We may venture to lay it down as a general proposition, that all restrictive laws, which exclude certain classes of men from political stations, are, in their immediate operation, oppressive and impolitic. That the classes excluded are sufferers, is abundantly

antly clear; and evils suffered by individuals are in some measure evils suffered by the public, if it be true that the public is composed of individuals. But, were we even to consider the state as somewhat different from those who compose it, still the exclusion of useful talents must be as real a loss to the political body, as the locking up a part of his capital would be to the merchant. The genius, knowledge, skill, bravery, and industry of individuals, are, in the strictest sense, parts of the public stock; they are items in the account current between nation and nation, whether the page relate to arts or to arms. Do we laugh at the hereditary casts of the old Egyptians, which kept the son of a cobbler to his father's awl, and checked a passion for laying bricks in the young basketmaker, like felony or sacrilege? do we pride ourselves in that liberal policy, which has thrown open the gates of honour to the brave and prudent of all ranks? and can we deny, that any restrictions by which men are forcibly drawn from their natural bent, any barriers, which shut out the prospects of honourable reward, are naturally injurious to the commonweal? The seeds of genius, which, with time and opportunity ripen into the statesman and the commander, are scattered indiscriminately among those of one religion or of another. The chance of birth might have thrown him who fell at Trafalgar, without the pale of protestancy, and consequently beyond the possibility of obtaining command; or compelled the illustrious orator whose eloquence maintained the Catholic petition, to have been himself a mute and inglorious suitor for the relief which it claimed.

If this be true, and nothing appears to us more undeniable, it follows, that such restrictions, if they can be defended at all, must be defended, not as beneficial in themselves, but as the means of purchasing some essential good, or warding off some evil, more important than those which they bring with them. The burthen of proof, therefore, lies wholly on those who contend for keeping them up. General declamations against the love of useless change, and on the folly of attempting to mend what is good already, will not do here; not even the proverb, 'Stava ben, ma per star meglio, sto qui;' for in fact, we are not well as we are; it is a real and positive loss to the community, as well as to individuals, which the laws in question have occasioned, and which it is at least worth considering if we cannot remove. The matter stands, therefore, as we request the reader to observe, on grounds wholly distinct from the case of the Catholic petition, considered as such; for, had the question never been agitated, or even had the people of that persuasion been indifferent to the subject, as some contend them to be, we should

should still have deemed the abrogation of those restrictive laws which affect them, a salutary measure for the commonwealth, unless some very strong reasons could be shewn for their continuance.

We feel therefore, undoubtedly, previous to any particular inquiry, a certain unwillingness to acquiesce in the present order of things, because it can at best be only a less evil than the alteration of it would be. Nevertheless, we will not venture to say, that situations may not be conceived, in which the legal restrictions which affect the Catholics of Ireland might be justified on strong grounds of expediency. The question of right, which has been too much battled on both sides, is not, we think, very distinct, nor likely to solve the difficulty. Legal right there can plainly be none, in those who ask the Legislature for relief. A moral right to the redress of grievances all subjects possess; and the correlative duty of the government is manifest. We must, therefore, inquire, whether a grievance, that is, an evil without any corresponding public good, has been sustained; and thus the question of right coincides with that of expediency. What, then, were the circumstances which led to the disabilities of which the Catholics complain in Ireland, and how far do they exist at this time?

The conduct of our ancestors towards Ireland is not precisely that part of their policy which we contemplate with the greatest pleasure. Founded in unjust usurpation, their dominion was maintained by a scheme of proceeding, in which folly and oppression went hand in hand together. The country was parcelled out among a few English adventurers, who speedily became not less barbarous than the natives, whom it was their chief care to exterminate, while their feuds and rebellions prevented every benefit which the policy of Government might, from time to time, have communicated to so extensive a portion of the empire. Hence, neither by conquest or submission, as has been well shewn by Sir John Davis, had Ireland become fully subject to the English Crown, till the vigorous administration of Elizabeth overpowered the last struggle of Irish independence. In this infirm state of things the Reformation was introduced into Ireland; not called for, as in England, and still more perhaps in this country, by the course of national opinion, but arbitrarily imposed upon a superstitious and ignorant people by a Government which they already detested. There cannot, perhaps, be any principle more clearly pointed out by justice and good sense, with respect to religious establishments, than that the opinions of the majority, supposing that majority to be indisputable, should decide on the particular sect by whose ministers they are to be instructed, and the expenses



expences of which they are to defray. But, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as we have seen it asserted, there were not sixty Protestants in Ireland; and the progress of this infant church, with all sorts of protecting bounties to its friends, and every discouragement to its adversaries, was of the most unpromising aspect, till the colonists of James I.; and the soldiers of Cromwell, supplied the place of native converts. It seems, indeed, a question, whether the anomalous system of the Church of England, differing so materially from the Catholic in doctrine, and as widely from the other Protestant churches in discipline, though proved, by experience, to be admirably adapted to the country where it was framed, be equally fitted for any other people. In Scotland, in Ireland, in America—wherever, in short, the experiment has been tried, it has certainly failed of success; and perhaps the ecclesiastic, like the civil polity of England, possesses a racy flavour of its native soil, which, by nations of different temperament and prejudices, may rather be admired than imitated. Be this as it may, the people of Ireland adhered to the Romish communion; and various penal laws were enacted during the reign of Elizabeth, which, however, like the corresponding statutes in England, neither impaired the rights of property, nor took away from recusants their seats in Parliament.

In the reign of Charles I. broke out that memorable rebellion, during which, according to Sir W. Petty, 616,000 lives 'were wasted by war, famine, plague, hardship, and banishment;' and two thirds of the superficial contents of the island were forfeited by the original proprietors. Whatever might have been the provocations to this contest, it was carried on by the insurgents with a mixture of wickedness and insatiation to which there is hardly any parallel in history; and, from the era of their subjugation, severer treatment from an alarmed and exasperated government was at least the natural reward of their unsuccessful appeal to the sword. Few statesmen have ever been placed in a situation more embarrassing than the Duke of Ormond, in the adjustment of Irish affairs after the Restoration. The lands of the Catholics had already passed, by the title of conquest, into the hands of Cromwell's soldiery; conflicting claims were set up on every side; some stood on parliamentary compact, some on royal promises, some on personal desert; the innocent were swept away by general presumptions of guilt, and the guilty saved by fictitious proofs of their innocence. Out of this chaos of perplexed and jarring interests arose the act of settlement,—the seal and ratification of a transfer of property, amounting to near eight millions of acres, which, passed from Irish to English, from Catholic to Protestant dominion. It is not conceivable,

ceivable, that even a race of Gentoos should submit to such losses without the wish to retrieve them; and it may be guessed what effect they would have on Hibernian temperaments. Accordingly, during the short-lived triumph of James II. in Ireland, his Parliament, in which only six Protestants are recorded to have sat, passed a law, against the inclination of that prince, for the unqualified repeal of the act of settlement. Victory, on the banks of the Boyne, once more decided, that Ireland must submit to Protestant rulers; and the keenness of the struggle seemed to impose a necessity upon the conquerors, of preserving what their swords had won, by more harsh coercion of the vanquished than before.

The severe laws against Popery date from the age of William III.: that, in particular, which excludes the professors of that religion from Parliament was passed, we believe, in the third year of his reign. It is usual for the advocates of Catholic privileges to charge these enactments upon the religious bigotry of our ancestors, and an illiberal antipathy to the professors of an adverse sect. We see no grounds for this imputation. The Protestant ascendancy of Ireland cared very little about purgatory and the seven sacraments. They acted upon principles simply political; and their severity was not derived from polemical rancour, but from the two great springs of bitterness, which turn the milk of human nature into gall,—revenge and fear. They knew what the vanquished had done in the hour of success; they looked at their numbers with dread, and sought to strengthen the barriers of law against the rude arm of physical power. The system of the Popery laws, indeed, in Ireland, must be looked at as a whole. In their present state they are folly, caprice, feeble and petulant tyranny. As they stood originally, they were vigorous and consistent; the firm, well-riveted fetters of conquest, locking into one another, and stretching down the captive giant to the floor. For more than half a century after the Revolution, the appellation of ‘the common enemy’ was regularly given to the Catholics, not in loose declamation, but in the legitimate and deliberate language of Lord-Lieutenants and Parliaments. The struggles of contending factions never waked them from their lethargy, nor raised them from their abasement; and, while the names of liberty and patriotism were on the tongue of every Protestant, it was never conceived that three fourths of the people could either share in the one, or be the object of the other. We think it will be found, that the Catholics are hardly named as a distinct body, throughout the whole political writings of Swift. Indeed, their first re-fuscitation is said to have taken place during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford in 1757, when they ventured to present an address to the Castle.

The great object of this oppressive policy was undoubtedly  
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to keep under a powerful enemy: the next was probably to force him over to the Protestant side. It might, a century since, be very plausibly supposed, that self-interest, working upon a large class of men, would get the better of conscience; and that a Catholic, excluded from political honours, cut off from many even of the common rights of property, and rendered a slave and alien in his country, would either quit that country, or the faith, which made the country a stepmother to him. The fact, however, has turned out, that Protestantism has made no converts, and as a great majority of the people have adhered to their original tenets under such discouraging circumstances, the established church of Ireland may perhaps be considered as an experiment which has completely failed. No rational man can look to a time, within any limits to which human policy extends, when the Catholic religion will not prevail in Ireland. At the same time, we are far from thinking this a fortunate, or even an indifferent circumstance, in the state of that country. Few nations have had a more decided interest, politically speaking, in the progress of one sect above another, than Great Britain in the growth of the reformed faith on the west of St George's Channel. But she has not been very successful in her method. Laws, penal or restrictive, are but rough medicine; and if the disease is incurable, it is some consolation to have discarded the physician.

The surprise which many worthy Protestants may feel at the slow progress of their own opinions, in a country subject to the same laws as England, will probably be abated, when they know the actual state of the Irish hierarchy. We have now lying before us, an account presented to the House of Commons in 1803, containing the number of parishes in Ireland, and of the benefices or unions of parishes into which the same have been distributed and reduced, and also of the churches and glebe houses which actually existed in 1791. This document it may be worth while to lay before our readers in a note \*, as it exhibits a striking view of the aptness which the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland seems to possess for diffusing religious instruction throughout the mass of the people. Since the year 1791, it is fair to observe, sums of money to a considerable amount have been granted by the Board of First Fruits for the purpose of rebuilding churches; but, even if the money has been duly laid out, the number must still fall short of that of benefices. The following passage from Lord Redefdale's speech in the House of Lords, which we quote from Sir John Throckmorton's pamphlet, p. 112, is the commentary on this statement.

There are about 2400 parishes, which have been thrown, by unions, many of them very improper, and some very recently made, into about

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\* See following page.

1100 benefices, some of which extend over vast tracts of country. Many of the parishes have no church, which was the case with a parish in Dublin, said to contain 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the benefices have no glebe, the ancient glebe having been confounded with, and lost in, the lands of lay-proprietors. Many more of the benefices have no glebe house, so that the clergyman has no means of residence within his parish: Unfortunately, too, benefices in this deplorable state have been deemed the most desirable—a parish without a church, without a glebe-house, and, an almost necessary consequence, without a Protestant inhabitant.

The true proportion which exists between the established and tolerated religions, is a *desideratum* in the statistics of Ireland. The statements hitherto given to the public differ as much from one another, as might be expected from party prejudice acting upon perfect ignorance of the truth. Some warm enemies of the Catholic claims assert the Protestants to compose two fifths of the population.

Dioceses.	Parishes.	Benefices, or Union of Parishes.	Churches.	Glebe Houses.
Armagh - - -	103	69	69	51
Dromore - - -	26	24	27	14
Down and Connor	114	65	76	23
Derry - - -	48	43	51	33
Raphoe - - -	31	25	32	17
Clogher - - -	41	40	49	25
Kilmore - - -	39	30	36	9
Ardagh - - -	37	24	29	10
Meath - - -	224	99	77	29
Dublin - - -	209	86	82	35
Kildare - - -	81	31	28	9
Leighlin & Ferns -	232	79	71	6
Offory - - -	136	56	36	15
Cashell & Emly -	155	47	35	16
Waterford & Lismore	106	44	30	8
Cloyne - - -	137	69	51	5
Cork & Ross - - -	127	64	53	14
Limerick - - -	176	88	47	14
Killaloe - - -	138	50	38	4
Tuam - - -	89	23	24	2
Clonfert - - -	60	15	14	2
Elphin - - -	75	29	26	5
Killala and Achonry	52	20	20	8
	2436	1120	1001	355

population. Mr Newenham, an advocate of those claims, reckons the whole at above five millions, of which he allows only one to the Protestants of all denominations. These are the two extremes, and probably both differ from the fact. It is to us a matter of surprize, that the bill which has lately passed for ascertaining the population of Ireland, makes no provision for clearing up this problem in political arithmetic. Whether a man goes to church or to mass, is, we believe, as well known as the number of his children, or his windows, and might occupy a column in the return with as much convenience.

The author of the present pamphlet is well known as a Catholic gentleman of large fortune and ancient family: he is still more honourably distinguished for a degree of liberality and moderation, that all members of that body, even in the present age, are not found to possess. These qualities are apparent in the work before us: we meet not only with the utmost temper in managing the discussion, but with candid concessions with respect to his own party. We regret only, that his moderation has sometimes given an air of tameness and languor to his style; and that sound and sensible arguments want that force, which is derived from lucid arrangement and nervous expression. Men, who are conversant with a subject in all its bearings, are apt to put their thoughts together more loosely, than those who are compelled to reduce into method the notions they have, as a means of enriching their minds with more. The reasonings also, to which a Catholic is likely to recur, are not exactly those which tell most with a person unbiassed towards that persuasion. The aspersions thrown upon the tethers which he believes, naturally lead him to repel such charges by proofs of the loyalty, quietness, and morality of their professors. These, however, extend farther than we should think necessary for the decision of the present question. The sole point is, whether Catholics shall be eligible to Parliament, and capable of enjoying, by the royal choice, some great offices in the State. If it can be made out, that no danger can, with any reasonable probability, be supposed to arise from this to the civil or religious establishments of the country, the matter is at once settled. But it is by no means incumbent upon us to prove, that the lower orders of Irish Catholics are not possessed with a bigotted antipathy against the Protestants; that they are not abjectly submissive to their priests; that among those priests there is not still lurking the leaven of spiritual usurpation;—because, if all these charges are true, and in some part we believe them to be true, they are still irrelevant to the precise point at issue. The admission of a few Catholic gentlemen to Parliament, can hardly aggravate that bigotry and submission to priestcraft, which naturally springs from intellectual

tual degradation. The removal of invidious distinctions cannot inflame the passions of those who smarted under the feelings which they excited.

There are, it seems, two, and only two mischiefs, which can be distinctly presented to the mind of one who defends the present restrictions, as probable consequences of their repeal: he may dread the predominance of a sect adverse to that which is established, in the parliament, or in the cabinet: he may expect to see a Catholic majority in the legislature, or Catholic councils in the executive government. It is for such a person to weigh, whether, so long as the people of Great Britain, whose representatives exceed, five or six times over, those of Ireland, adhere to their present faith, there can be any remote possibility, against which a rational man would think it necessary to guard, that a small minority might, by means of a popular assembly, overturn any part of the constitution; and, in case the people of Great Britain should ever relinquish their present mode of thinking upon theological questions, whether the established church ought, upon any sound principle, civil or religious, to survive the opinions of those for whom it was designed. The influence of Catholic advisers of the Crown may, with more plausibility, be brought forward as a contingent mischief; because, in the two reigns which preceded the Revolution, a project of overwhelming at once the liberties and the Protestant church of England, was certainly the systematic object of a profligate and tyrannical court. The Sovereign, however, must, by the Act of Settlement, be in communion with the established church; a provision, in our minds, unexceptionable and convenient, but which affords no argument, though it has often been absurdly adduced, for the exclusion of dissenters from any offices of which subjects are capable. But a King, it will be said, may, like Charles II., preserve a dissembling conformity with the establishment, while he meditates its subversion. Be it so: what stronger argument can be brought against the efficacy of exclusive tests? If a King can be protestant in form, but not in substance, what security can we have against the employment of ministers, equally insincere, equally prevaricating with himself? Though Clifford shrunk from the test imposed in 1672, were Lauderdale and Sunderland less apt for the work of tyranny? Did zeal for any sort of religion animate Buckingham and Shaftesbury? Did not a disguised attachment to the church of Rome lurk in the heart of Arlington, while tests and declarations were upon his lips? It is not in the barriers of restrictive law, it is not in the seal of solemn engagements, that we must look for security against such treachery as the cabinet of the se-

cond Charles concealed. If the general state of religious tolerance, which certainly borders upon indifference, did not render the supposition of a British Sovereign, who should risk his throne, like James II., for the sake of Popery, more extravagant than the dreams of a feverish man, it would be sufficient to rely on the strength of the constitution; not struggling, as under the Stuarts, against undefined and lawless prerogative, but invulnerable, we trust, by any force which the most despotic prince could employ; secured by annual sessions of Parliament, by annual Mutiny-acts, and, still more, by popular sentiment and long habits of freedom, against those violent and illegal stretches of power, which the patriots of former ages victoriously resisted.

This is the simple statement of the question, which, if presented to the mind without any superfluous and irrelevant declamation, leaves, we think, no room for hesitation as to the admission of Irish, and consequently British Catholics, both to the Legislature and to official stations. There are, however, some other topics, which it is worth while to notice, and which have been treated by Sir J. Throckmorton with considerable knowledge of his subject, as well as good sense. With respect to the oath of supremacy, after admitting, that every state, in the words attributed to Lord Ellenborough, claiming and exercising independent powers of sovereignty, possesses the right of binding its subjects by law, not only paramount to, but exclusive of any authority or controul exercisable by any other state whatsoever; he justifies the Catholics in their refusal of this oath, because they conceive that something more is required by it, than an acknowledgement of the independent authority of the state; namely, a renunciation of the power of spiritual jurisdiction, which they believe to reside in the Roman pontiff. To define this jurisdiction, he admits, in a manner that shall preclude all misconception, is not easy; and indeed the notion of supremacy is, we believe, equally vague, as applied by Catholics to the Pope, or by the language of English law to the King. The following observations are just and candid.

“Perhaps, it may not be well understood, when the King is talked of, as the “supreme head” of the Established Church, what is meant by that supremacy. No distinct idea, I am confident, is entertained of it; at least, no such idea I have been able to collect from conversation, or from books. Be it then allowed, that the primacy of the Roman bishop *may be liable to some misconception*. When it is said, that the King is the sovereign lord of all his subjects, of whatever degree or estate they be, ecclesiastical or temporal; that, in virtue of this sovereign rule, no foreign power, as has been observed, shall, or ought to, have any superiority over them; that, as the political head over the Church

Church and all its members, he convenes, prorogues, dissolves, regulates, and restrains synods or convocations, appoints or recommends to bishoprics and certain other ecclesiastical preferments; that the judicature of ecclesiastical causes is within the sphere of his cognizance; that, though he challenges no authority or power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, and consequently can convey no power properly spiritual, such as is the power of order in the Episcopal ministry, yet that the collation of external diocesan jurisdiction attaches to his prerogative: when, I say, on the subject of the King's supremacy, these positions only are advanced, it seems to me (though I plainly perceive that I am got out of my depth), that nothing more is conceded, than what, in ancient time, was due to, and exercised by, the imperial Crown of this realm; than what was considered as an essential portion of the royal prerogative in France, and in other Catholic countries; and what, by the Concordat, the present French ruler exercises; and what, finally, is not adverse to, and destructive of, that primacy of the Roman bishop, properly understood, which has been, and may be exercised in well regulated states.

‘ I must repeat, that my knowledge of these matters is very limited: but should the question be as thus stated, it must be admitted, that the alarms, on both sides, are founded on misapprehensions; that Protestants fear the introduction of the papal power, because they know not what is meant by it, and raise the whole structure of their alarms on the historical fact of its former manifold abuses; and that Catholics draw back at the sound of kingly supremacy, because they conceive, that a power, strictly spiritual, is meant to be connected with it. It is a misfortune, in the conflict of human opinions, that the most appropriate words are not chosen; to which, had attention been given, I apprehend, in speaking of the King's supremacy, the word *spiritual* would hardly have been adopted. The term *ecclesiastical* alone might have caused less difficulty, though this would have been highly improper.’ p. 47.

If, however, the oath of supremacy should either be repealed, or taken by the Catholics, another obstacle remains, in the shape of a legislative provision, to which, from prejudices in some degree laudable, an extraordinary importance has by many good men been attached. We allude to the test act, imposed by the 25th of Charles II., which renders the reception of the sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, and with certain forms and attestations prescribed in the statute, a necessary qualification for any civil or military officer. Though the admission of Roman Catholics to such stations was never contemplated from the time of the Revolution till a recent period, yet this law, which, whatever may have been the object of those who framed it, did, in fact, operate as an exclusion of Protestant dissenters, has at different times been the subject of much keen



discussion, both from the press, and within the walls of parliament. The abolition of such restrictions as affect Protestants, is not the question immediately before us; but as it is very intimately connected with that which is, and as an indistinct apprehension of conventicles and meeting-houses seems to weigh with many persons, who are not unwilling to grant indulgences to the Catholics, it may be proper to state, very briefly, what is the practical efficacy of this pretended bulwark of the Church.

In the *first* place, it is no test of approving the Church of England, either in doctrine or discipline; it prescribes only a single rite, concerning which some petty scruples once existed in the minds of dissenters; to which, whenever at least their own interest is concerned, few of them any longer pay attention. Not long after the Revolution, the practice of what was called occasional conformity, of qualifying for the sake of offices, particularly in corporations, became so prevalent, that the end of the test, so far as it went to restrain Protestant dissenters, was nearly defeated. During the reign of Anne, several attempts were made by the High-Church party, to prevent, by more strict enactments, what they termed a base and hypocritical evasion; and the consent of the Whigs to a bill levelled at this practice, is said to have been the price of Lord Nottingham's accession to their side in the year 1711. This is meant by that ludicrous chapter in the history of John Bull, when Jack is persuaded by Don Diego to hang himself, in the expectation of being cut down by Sir Roger. Not long after the accession, however, of George I., in the year 1719, the prevalence of Whig counsels, which, except against Catholics, have been uniformly tolerant, led to a repeal of this act, and of other acts, by which the Tory ministry of Anne had gratified the zeal or panic of the orthodox. That zeal and that panic were, in this instance, as usual, without sense or foresight; the accommodating spirit, which they wished to check in the dissenters, was the result of increasing liberality and moderation; those who left the meeting-house for interest, forgot to return for devotion; and the last century has witnessed the silent decay of that dissenting party, when peaceful and unmolested, which withstood the fury of Laud, and the acrimony of Sheldon. Some indeed there yet remain, who shrink from the notion of conformity, staunch and sturdy disciples of the puritanical school. Are these kept aloof by the statute of Charles? Are the mace and the surry robe, the emblems of municipal majesty, denied to such as these? Look to the annual acts of indemnity; acts passing as regularly, and with as little notice, as the most ordinary forms of the houses of parliament. By that, for instance, passed in March 1806, all persons who have neglected to qualify themselves as re-

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quired by law, are fully indemnified and freed from all penalties and disabilities, unless *final judgment* shall have been obtained against them. It is provided, indeed, that they must duly qualify before the 25th of December 1806. But as the act has been, for a length of time, annually renewed, it is morally certain, that any man neglecting to comply with this provision, will be relieved by another act, either before the time shall elapse, or at least before final judgment can be obtained against him. Accordingly, scarce any person, we believe, in civil or military trust, whatever his religious opinions may be, takes the trouble of observing the regulations of the test act. This annual indemnity, as Sir J. Throckmorton very truly observes, is equivalent to its complete annulment. The origin of this system of dispensation he supposes to have been a disposition to favour the Scotch, whose rigid presbyterianism, we admit, has not been found altogether to exclude them from very comfortable posts in South Britain. ‘Why, it may be asked,’ he proceeds, ‘do not Catholics avail themselves of this act of indemnity? In certain cases they do; but they apprehend that, to some minds, it might have the appearance of occasional conformity; and therefore they rather submit to the regular operation of the statute.’ We believe that the case is rather, that few opportunities have been given to them of craving the aid of these indemnity acts, except in military commissions, which have for some years been filled in numberless instances with a total disregard of this notable barrier of the establishment, from the brave and ancient gentry of the Catholic persuasion in Ireland.

But if these concessions are made, it is natural to inquire, will the Catholics be satisfied? Will not success lead to further encroachments; and the mistress of their wishes, so fondly named emancipation, be scorned after enjoyment? Have they not, for thirty years, been gaining ground, at each step professing to terminate their desires, and still repining for more? To this it might be sufficient to answer, that, when we have done full justice, neither our right nor our power to resist exorbitant claims will be impaired. But why is it so certain that we shall have such claims to resist? Intemperate and ambitious men there will be in all mixed bodies, and, we fear, the Irish Catholics are not without their share of them; but, after all that has been said of popular blindness and fury, there is a wonderful difference between the effect of real and imaginary grievances. Fair and honest policy in government is, as it were, the flail of faction: the light and foolish, the violent and designing, are separated by it from sensible and well-meaning men, who mix reluctantly in public disputes, and quit them when their object is attained. In the earliest age

of the Roman republic, the patrician families alone were admitted to stations of honour and national trust. The struggles of the people against this exclusion were, for a long time, though never sanguinary, violent and unrelenting; the concession of lower privileges led only to the demand of higher; till every distinction was abrogated, which stood in the way of aspiring merit. From the time that the consulate and priesthood were opened to the plebeians, early in the fifth century of Rome, her discussions ceased; the vibrating balance of the constitution found its poise; and, during a period of two centuries, scarce any domestic factions retarded or embittered the conquest of the world. But it would be going much too far to assert, that, by acceding to the prayer of the Catholic petition, we should apply a radical cure to that unhappy disaffection, which has prevailed among the peasantry of Ireland. Nor do we think, that no measures of conciliation, or, if the word please better, concession, should be taken, beyond those which we have been immediately considering. We have never seen any project for the commutation of tithes in England, which seemed likely to preserve, in the long-run, the rights of the clergy unimpaired. But we appeal to any candid man, who has looked at the statement given above, respecting the church of Ireland, whether the interests of an establishment, so notoriously incompetent, from external circumstances, to its duties, ought to be regarded with extreme favour. Lands, too, are more generally held in Ireland upon freehold leases, than in England, which throws the burden of tithes more upon the tenant; and their collection is, we believe, more frequently *in kind*, and, of consequence, more odious than in the latter country. The maintenance of the Catholic priests by Government has often been suggested. It is no slight evil, however, for a country sinking under the weight of taxes, to support a double hierarchy; and some share of the expence might, perhaps, without injustice, be defrayed from the revenues of the present establishment, in parishes where almost every inhabitant is a Catholic. The author has sketched a plan for the removal of jealousies between the two sects, which is worthy of notice. But, we fear, that he speaks his own sentiments rather than those of his cast; and promises more, in the liberal turn of his mind, for the Romish priests of Ireland, than, unless they are much belied, they will readily undertake.

1/2. Without attempting the absurd expedient of suppressing the hierarchy in an Episcopal church, Government has only to signify, that it is their wish that the King, in future, shall have the nomination of the Catholic bishops. This will be conceded. The mode of election or nomination has often varied; but it now generally is lodged in the

the hands of the Prince, who, in Catholic countries, as was settled in the late French Concordat, after his nomination, allows the elected bishop to apply to the Roman see for canonical *confirmation* or *institution*. And by this act, agreeably to what the late pontiff termed the *new discipline* (*ex nova disciplina*), is understood to be maintained as well the union or communion, which should ever subsist between the head and its members, as also that *jurisdiction* to be acknowledged, which Catholics believe essentially to belong to the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

‘ In regard to the *fealty* or *allegiance*, which at his consecration, each bishop promises to him, if it mean any thing, it means too much: if nothing, it is absurd, and degrades a solemn ceremony. This Episcopal oath, as it is called, found its way into the church in feudal times, when the Roman bishops, in imitation of other princes, viewed themselves as sovereign lords, and all churchmen as their vassals. The bishop, therefore, did homage in the hands of the consecrator, the supposed representative of his Holiness. But as the days of feudal slavery have passed away, why has not this oath passed with them? Its language evidently denotes its feudal origin. The bishop promises, “ that he will from that hour forward be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to his lord the Pope, and his successors, canonically entering: that the papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, he will keep, maintain, and defend against all men: that the rights, privileges, and authorities of the Roman church, and of the Pope, and of his successors, he will cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted.”—Let there be no more of this. One obnoxious clause, “ that heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the holy father and his successors, he will resist and to his power persecute,” is now, I understand, omitted, by the express permission of the Pope, “ it being his particular wish,” say the cardinals in their letter, “ to avoid whatever could give umbrage in Great Britain and Ireland.” The whole oath gives umbrage to every thinking man, and should therefore be expunged, yet the French bishops, I believe since the Concordat, continue to take it. Napoleon knows how to value words; but words, as I observed, void of meaning, dishonour the lips that utter them. It should not, however, be concealed, that the court of Rome views them in another light, and will surrender no more of this feudal oath, unless urged to it by the irresistible demand of Government. The expedition of vassalage, though no more than a sound, is ever pleading to the ear of power, and brings to remembrance the days of former greatness.

‘ *zelly*, The parochial clergy, I understand, are now appointed by the diocesan; but if Government can be prevailed on to allow them moderate salaries, and shall judge proper to regulate their appointments in any other form, I conceive it will meet with no difficulties. I was shocked to hear a legal officer of the Crown lament, that a college had been founded for the education of Catholic clergy. The ignorance of the

the Irish peasantry has often been deplored; and foreign education, which was not a matter of choice, has often been made a subject of reproach: but now, it seems, no education must be allowed, foreign or domestic. "What would the learned gentleman do with the Catholics?" exclaimed an Irish member. "Would he have them brought up in the grossest ignorance? Would he permit them no place of education, by which they might be rendered useful members of society, and good and loyal subjects? Or would he have them sent out of the country to be educated in the seminaries of that Pope, of whose principles he has so great a dread, and to whose power he thinks it necessary to oppose such strong and formidable barriers?"

'3dly, The nomination of the bishops, and the appointment of the parochial clergy being regulated, the next measure, I conceive, must be, first to settle in what manner external discipline, in holding any courts, and the celebration of marriages, shall be administered; and then, which is most important, distinctly to define, through what channel communications with the Roman see shall be permitted. This channel must be public, let us say, one of the offices of Government. Much trouble need not be apprehended; for the communications would not be frequent; but, when they happened, the subject or instrument should be open for inspection, as likewise any brief, rescript, or monition, or dispensation, or whatever answer might be transmitted in return.

'With what facility might such regulations be made, and, when made, and adhered to, what cause could there any longer be for suspicions, and for any fear of this foreign sovereignty? and the Irish prelacy, I flatter myself, if they have not already taken the subject into consideration, will delay no longer doing it, and will be ready, before Parliament shall again resume the subject, to lay before Government a detailed plan of regulations. The redress of grievances seems to be in their own hands.' p. 148.

The style of this pamphlet is loose and incorrect; and the general character of the reasoning is not vigorous nor impressive. The merits of the cause, however, are distinct from the merits of the book; and upon these, we confess, our opinion is decided. Whatever may be the cloud of popular prejudices at present with respect to this momentous question, we can scarcely doubt, (if, in the perils of the time, we may venture to look on to futurity), that the voice of justice and policy will finally prevail. The seeds of truth will bear fruit in due season, if neither the blight wither, nor the tempest scatter them before their time. In the mean time, to be conscious that we have failed in nothing through our own folly or narrowness of views—that we have met the conflict with all our combined and united energies, must be an encouragement in danger, and even a consolation in ruin.

ART. VII. *The Complete Works, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr Benjamin Franklin. Now first collected and arranged. With Memoirs of his Early Life, written by Himself.* 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1450. Johnson, London. 1806.

NOTHING, we think, can shew more clearly, the singular want of literary enterprize or activity, in the States of America, than that no one has yet been found in that flourishing republic, to collect and publish the works of their only philosopher. It is not even very creditable to the liberal curiosity of the English public, that there should have been no complete edition of the writings of Dr Franklin, till the year 1806: and we should have been altogether unable to account for the imperfect and unsatisfactory manner in which the task has now been performed, if it had not been for a statement in the prefatory advertisement, which removes all blame from the editor, to attach it to a higher quarter. It is there stated, that recently after the death of the author, his grandson, to whom the whole of his papers had been bequeathed, made a voyage to London, for the purpose of preparing and disposing of a complete collection of all his published and unpublished writings, with memoirs of his life, brought down by himself to the year 1757, and continued to his death by his descendant. It was settled, that the work should be published in three quarto volumes, in England, Germany, and France; and a negotiation was commenced with the booksellers, as to the terms of the purchase and publication. At this stage of the business, however, the proposals were suddenly withdrawn, and nothing more has been heard of the work in this its fair and natural market. "The proprietor, it seems, had found a bidder of a different description, in *some emissary of Government*; whose object was to withhold the manuscripts from the world, not to benefit it by their publication; and they thus either passed into other hands, or the person to whom they were bequeathed received a remuneration for *suppressing them.*"

If this statement be correct, we have no hesitation in saying, that no emissary of Government was ever employed on a more miserable and unworthy service. It is ludicrous to talk of the danger of disclosing, in 1795, any secrets of state, with regard to the war of American independence; and as to any anecdotes or observations that might give offence to individuals, we think it should always be remembered, that public functionaries are the property of the public, that their character belongs to history and to posterity, and that it is equally absurd and dis-  
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creditable to think of *suppressing* any part of the evidence by which their merits must be ultimately determined. But the whole of the works that have been suppressed, certainly did not relate to republican politics. The history of the author's life, down to 1757, could not well contain any matter of offence; and a variety of general remarks and speculations which he is understood to have left behind him, might have been permitted to see the light, though his diplomatic operations had been interdicted. The emissary of Government, however, probably took no care of these things; he was resolved 'to leave no rubs nor botches in his work;' and, to stifle the dreaded revelation, he thought the best way was to strangle all the innocents in the vicinage.

Imperfect as the work now before us necessarily is, we think the public is very much indebted to its editor. It is presented in a cheap and unostentatious form; and though it contains little that has not been already printed as the composition of the author, and does not often settle any point of disputed authenticity in a satisfactory manner, it seems, on the whole, to have been compiled with sufficient diligence, and arranged with considerable judgment. Few writings, indeed, require the aid of a commentator less than those of Dr Franklin; and though this editor is rather too sparing of his presence, we are infinitely better satisfied to be left now and then to our conjectures, than to be encumbered with the explanations, and overpowered with the loquacity of a more officious attendant.

We do not propose to give any thing like a regular account of the papers contained in these volumes. The best of them have long been familiar to the public; and there are many which it was proper to preserve, that cannot now be made interesting to the general reader. Dr Franklin, however, is too great a man to be allowed to walk past without some observation; and our readers, we are persuaded, will easily forgive us, if we yield to the temptation of making a few remarks on his character.

This self-taught American is the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. He never loses sight of common sense in any of his speculations; and when his philosophy does not consist entirely in its fair and vigorous application, it is always regulated and controuled by it in its application and result. No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority.

Dr Franklin received no regular education; and he spent the greater part of his life in a society where there was no relish, and no encouragement for literature. On an ordinary mind, these circumstances would have produced their usual effects, of  
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repressing all sort of intellectual ambition or activity, and perpetuating a generation of incurious mechanics; but to an understanding like Franklin's, we cannot help considering them as peculiarly propitious, and imagine that we can trace back to them, distinctly, almost all the peculiarities of his intellectual character.

Regular education, we think, is unfavourable to vigour or originality of understanding. Like civilization, it makes society more intelligent and agreeable; but it levels the distinctions of nature. It strengthens and assists the feeble; but it deprives the strong of his triumph, and casts down the hopes of the aspiring. It accomplishes this, not only by training up the mind in an habitual veneration for authorities, but, by leading us to bestow a disproportionate degree of attention upon studies that are only valuable as keys or instruments for the understanding, they come at last to be regarded as ultimate objects of pursuit; and the means of education are absurdly mistaken for its end. How many powerful understandings have been lost in the Dialectics of Aristotle! and of how much good philosophy are we daily defrauded, by the preposterous error of taking a knowledge of profody for useful learning! The mind of a man, who has escaped this training, will at least have fair play. Whatever other errors he may fall into, he will be safe at least from these infatuations. If he thinks proper, after he grows up, to study Greek, it will be for some better purpose than to become acquainted with its dialects. His prejudices will be those of a man, and not of a schoolboy; and his speculations and conclusions will be independent of the maxims of tutors, and the oracles of literary patrons.

The consequences of living in a refined and literary community, are nearly of the same kind with those of a regular education. There are so many critics to be satisfied—so many qualifications to be established—so many rivals to encounter, and so much derision to be hazarded, that a young man is apt to be deterred from so perilous an enterprize, and led to seek for distinction in some safer line of exertion. He is discouraged by the fame and the perfection of certain models and favourites, who are always in the mouths of his judges, and, ‘under them, his genius is rebuked,’ and his originality repressed, till he sinks into a paltry copyist, or aims at distinction, by extravagance and affectation. In such a state of society, he feels that mediocrity has no chance of distinction; and what beginner can expect to rise at once into excellence? He imagines that mere good sense will attract no attention; and that the manner is of much more importance than the matter, in a candidate for public admiration. In his attention to the manner, the matter is apt to be neglected; and, in his solicitude to please those who require elegance of diction, brilliancy



brilliancy of wit, or harmony of periods, he is in some danger of forgetting that strength of reason, and accuracy of observation, by which he first proposed to recommend himself. His attention, when extended to so many collateral objects, is no longer vigorous or collected,—the stream, divided into so many channels, ceases to flow either deep or strong;—he becomes an unsuccessful pretender to fine writing, and is satisfied with the frivolous praise of elegance or vivacity.

We are disposed to ascribe so much power to these obstructions to intellectual originality, that we cannot help fancying, that, if Franklin had been bred in a college, he would have contented himself with expounding the metres of Pindar, and mixing argument with his port in the common room; and that if Boston had abounded with men of letters, he would never have ventured to come forth from his printing-house, or been driven back to it, at any rate, by the sneers of the critics, after the first publication of his essays in the *Busy Body*.

This will probably be thought exaggerated; but it cannot be denied, we think, that the contrary circumstances in his history had a powerful effect in determining the character of his understanding, and in producing those peculiar habits of reasoning and investigation by which his writings are distinguished. He was encouraged to publish, because there was scarcely any one around him whom he could not easily excel. He wrote with great brevity, because he had not leisure for more voluminous compositions, and because he knew that the readers to whom he addressed himself were, for the most part, as busy as himself. For the same reason, he studied great perspicuity and simplicity of statement: his countrymen had no relish for fine writing, and could not easily be made to understand a deduction depending on a long or elaborate process of reasoning. He was forced, therefore, to concentrate what he had to say; and since he had no chance of being admired for the beauty of his composition, it was natural for him to aim at making an impression by the force and the clearness of his statements.

His conclusions were often rash and inaccurate, from the same circumstances which rendered his productions concise. Philosophy and speculation did not form the business of his life; nor did he dedicate himself to any particular study, with a view to exhaust and complete the investigation of it in all its parts, and under all its relations. He engaged in every interesting inquiry that suggested itself to him, rather as the necessary exercise of a powerful and active mind, than as a task which he had bound himself to perform. He cast a quick and penetrating glance over the facts and the *data* that were presented to him; and drew his

his conclusions with a rapidity and precision that have not often been equalled; but he did not stop to examine the completeness of the *data* upon which he proceeded, nor to consider the ultimate effect or application of the principles to which he had been conducted. In all questions, therefore, where the facts upon which he was to determine, and the materials from which his judgment was to be formed, were either few in number, or of such a nature as not to be overlooked, his reasonings are for the most part perfectly just and conclusive, and his decisions unexceptionably sound; but where the elements of the calculation were more numerous and widely scattered, it appears to us that he has often been precipitate, and that he has either been misled by a partial apprehension of the conditions of the problem, or has discovered only a portion of the truth which lay before him. In all physical inquiries; in almost all questions of particular and immediate policy; and in much of what relates to the practical wisdom and the happiness of private life, his views will be found to be admirable, and the reasoning by which they are supported most masterly and convincing. But upon subjects of general politics, of abstract morality, and political economy, his notions appear to be more unsatisfactory and incomplete. He seems to have wanted leisure, and perhaps inclination also, to spread out before him the whole vast premises of these extensive sciences, and scarcely to have had patience to hunt for his conclusions through so wide and intricate a region as that upon which they invited him to enter. He has been satisfied, therefore, on every occasion, with reasoning from a very limited view of the facts, and often from a particular instance: he has done all that sagacity and sound sense could do with such materials; but it cannot excite wonder, if he has sometimes overlooked an essential part of the argument, and often advanced a particular truth into the place of a general principle. He seldom reasoned upon these subjects at all, we believe, without having some practical application of them immediately in view; and as he began the investigation rather to determine a particular case, than to establish a general maxim, so he probably desisted as soon as he had relieved himself of the present difficulty.

There are not many among the thorough bred scholars and philosophers of Europe, who can lay claim to distinction in more than one or two departments of science or literature. The uneducated tradesman of America has left writings that call for our attention, in natural philosophy,—in politics,—in political economy,—and in general literature and morality.

Of his labours in the department of *Physics*, we do not propose to say much. They were almost all suggested by views of utility

utility in the beginning, and were, without exception, applied, we believe, to promote those views in the end. His letters upon *Electricity* have been more extensively circulated than any of his other writings; and are entitled to more praise and popularity than they seem ever to have met with in this country. Nothing can be more admirable than the luminous and graphical precision with which the experiments are narrated; the ingenuity with which they are projected; and the sagacity with which the conclusion is inferred, limited, and confirmed.

The most remarkable thing, however, in these, and, indeed, in the whole of his physical speculations, is the unparalleled simplicity and facility with which the reader is conducted from one stage of the inquiry to another. The author never appears for a moment to labour, or to be at a loss. The most ingenious and profound explanations are suggested, as if they were the most natural and obvious way of accounting for the phenomena; and the author seems to value himself so little on his most important discoveries, that it is necessary to compare him with others, before we can form a just notion of his merits. As he seems to be conscious of no exertion, he feels no partiality for any part of his speculations, and never seeks to raise the reader's idea of their importance, by any arts of declamation or eloquence. Indeed, the habitual precision of his conceptions, and his invariable practice of referring to specific facts and observations, secured him, in a great measure, both from those extravagant conjectures in which so many naturalists have indulged, and from the zeal and enthusiasm which seems so naturally to be engendered in their defence. He was by no means averse to give scope to his imagination, in suggesting a variety of explanations of obscure and unmanageable phenomena; but he never allowed himself to confound these vague and conjectural theories with the solid results of experience and observation. In his Meteorological papers, and in his Observations upon Heat and Light, there is a great deal of such bold and original suggestions; but the author evidently sets little value upon them; and has no sooner disburdened his mind of the impressions from which they proceeded, than he seems to dismiss them entirely from his consideration, and turns to the legitimate philosophy of experiment with unabated diligence and humility. As an instance of this disposition, we may quote part of a letter to the Abbé Soulavie, upon a new Theory of the Earth, which he proposes and dismisses, without concern or anxiety, in the course of a few sentences; though, if the idea had fallen upon the brain of an European philosopher, it might have germinated into a volume of eloquence, like Buffon's, or an infinite array of paragraphs and observations, like those of Parkinson or Dr Hutton.

After remarking, that there are manifold indications of some of the highest parts of the land having been formerly covered by the sea, Dr Franklin observes—

‘ Such changes in the superficial parts of the globe, seemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were solid to the centre. I therefore imagined, that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with, which therefore might swim in or upon that fluid. Thus the surface of the globe would be a shell, capable of being broken and disordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it rested. And as air has been compressed by art so as to be twice as dense as water, and as we know not yet the degree of density to which air may be compressed, and M. Amontons calculated, that its density increasing as it approached the centre, in the same proportion as above the surface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, possibly the dense fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compressed. And as the force of expansion in dense air, when heated, is in proportion to its density, this central air might afford another agent to move the surface, as well as be of use in keeping alive the subterraneous fires; though, as you observe, the sudden rarefaction of water coming into contact with those fires, may also be an agent sufficiently strong for that purpose, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it rests.

‘ If one might indulge imagination in supposing how such a globe was formed, I should conceive, that all the elements in separate particles being originally mixed in confusion, and occupying a great space, they would (as soon as the almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulsion of others, to exist) all move to their common centre: that the air being a fluid, whose parts repel each other, though drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be densest towards the centre, and rarer as more remote: consequently, all matters lighter than the central parts of that air, and immersed in it, would recede from the centre, and rise till they arrived at that region of the air which was of the same specific gravity with themselves, where they would rest; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would descend, and the two meeting would form the shell of the first earth, leaving the upper atmosphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre, would naturally form a whirl there; which would continue upon the turning of the new-formed globe upon its axis, and the greatest diameter of the shell would be in its equator. If, by any accident afterwards, the axis should be changed, the dense internal fluid, by altering its form, must burst the shell, and throw all its substance into the confusion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at present with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the rest of our system. Superior beings smile at our theories, and at our presumption in making them.’ Vol. II. p. 117—19.

He afterwards makes his theory much finer and more extravagant, by combining with it a very wild speculation upon magnetism; and, notwithstanding the additional temptation of this new piece of ingenuity, he abandons it in the end with as much unconcern, as if he had had no share in the making of it. We shall add the whole passage.

‘ It has long been a supposition of mine, that the iron contained in the surface of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetism perhaps exists in all space; so that there is a magnetical north and south of the universe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were, possible for a man to fly from star to star, he might govern his course by the compass; that it was by the power of this general magnetism this globe became a particular magnet. In soft or hot iron the fluid of magnetism is naturally diffused equally; when within the influence of the magnet it is drawn to one end of the iron, made denser there and rarer at the other. While the iron continues soft and hot, it is only a temporary magnet; if it cools or grows hard in that situation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not easily resuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetism of this globe, which it had not at first, that its axis is at present kept parallel to itself, and not liable to the changes it formerly suffered, which occasioned the rupture of its shell, the submersions and emergences of its lands, and the confusion of its seasons. The present polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is easy to conceive, in case some power should shift the axis gradually, and place it in the present equator, and make the new equator pass through the present poles, what a sinking of the waters would happen in the present equatorial regions, and what a rising in the present polar regions; so that vast tracts would be discovered, that now are under water, and others covered, that are now dry, the water rising and sinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this possibly occasioned much of Europe, and among the rest this Mountain of Passy on which I live, and which is composed of limestone rock and sea-shells, to be abandoned by the sea, and to change its ancient climate, which seems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are, perhaps, safe from any change of its axis. But we are still subject to the accidents on the surface, which are occasioned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and such a wave is producible by the sudden violent explosion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the explosion, but impressing with the same force the fluid under it, creates a wave, that may run a thousand leagues, lifting, and thereby shaking, successively, all the countries under which it passes. I know not, whether I have expressed myself so clearly, as not to get out of your sight in these reveries. If they occasion any new inquiries, and produce a better hypothesis, they will not be quite useless. You see I have given

a loose to imagination ; but I approve much more your method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than those facts will warrant. In my present circumstances, that mode of studying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myself to wander a little in the wilds of fancy.' II. 119—121.

Our limits will not permit us to make any analysis of the other physical papers contained in this collection. They are all admirable for the clearness of the description, the felicity and familiarity of the illustrations, and the singular sagacity of the remarks with which they are interspersed. The theory of whirlwinds and water-spouts, as well as the observations on the course of the winds and on cold, seem to be excellent. The paper called Maritime Observations is full of ingenuity and practical good sense ; and the remarks on evaporation, and on the tides, most of which are contained in a series of letters to a young lady, are admirable, not merely for their perspicuity, but for the interest and amusement they are calculated to communicate to every description of readers. The remarks on fire-places and smoky chimnies, are infinitely more original, concise, and scientific, than those of Count Rumford ; and the observations on the Gulph-stream afford, we believe, the first example of just theory, and accurate investigation, applied to that phenomenon.

Dr Franklin, we think, has never made use of the mathematics, in his investigation of the phenomena of nature ; and though this may render it surprising that he has fallen into so few errors of importance, we conceive that it helps in some measure to explain the unequalled perspicuity and vivacity of his expositions. An algebraist, who can work wonders with letters, seldom condescends to be much indebted to words, and thinks himself entitled to make his sentences obscure, provided his calculations be distinct. A writer who has nothing but words to make use of, must make all the use he can of them : he cannot afford to neglect the only chance he has of being understood.

We should now say something of the political writings of Dr Franklin,—the productions which first raised him into public office and eminence, and which will be least read or attended to by posterity. They may be divided into two parts ; those which relate to the internal affairs and provincial differences of the American colonies, before their quarrel with the mother country ; and those which relate to that quarrel and its consequences. The former are no longer in any degree interesting : and the editor has done wisely, we think, in presenting his readers with an abstract only of the longest of them : this was published in 1759, under the title of an *Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania*, and consisted of upwards of 500 pages, composed

for the purpose of shewing that the political privileges reserved to the founder of the colony had been illegally and oppressively used. The Canada pamphlet, written in 1760, for the purpose of pointing out the importance of retaining that colony at the peace, is given entire; and appears to be composed with great force of reason, and in a style of extraordinary perspicuity. The same may be said of what are called the Albany Papers, or the plan for a general political union of the colonies in 1754; and of a variety of other tracts on the provincial politics of that day. All these are worth preserving, both as monuments of Dr Franklin's talents and activity, and as affording, in many places, very excellent models of strong reasoning and popular eloquence; but the interest of the subjects is now completely gone by: and the few specimens of general reasoning which we meet with serve only to increase our regret, that the talents of the author should have been wasted on such perishable materials.

There is not much written on the subject of the dispute with the colonies; and most of Dr Franklin's papers on that subject are already well known to the public. His examination before the House of Commons in 1766, affords a striking proof of the extent of his information, the clearness and force of his *extempore* composition, and the steadiness and self-possession, which enabled him to display these qualities with so much effect upon such an occasion. His letters before the commencement of hostilities, are full of grief and anxiety; but, no sooner did matters come to extremities, than he appears to have assumed a certain keen and confident cheerfulness, not unmixed with a seasoning of asperity, and more vindictiveness of spirit than perhaps became a philosopher. In a letter written in October 1775, he expresses himself in this manner.

'Tell our dear good friend \* \* \*, who sometimes has his doubts and dependencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expence of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankies this campaign, which is 20,000l. a head; and, at Bunker's Hill, she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time, sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data, his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expence necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory.'

(III. 357-8.)  
The following letters, which passed between Dr Franklin and Lord Howe, when his Lordship arrived off the American coast with what were called the pacificatory proposals in 1776, show not only the consideration in which the former was held by the noble Commissioner, but contain a very striking and prophetic statement

statement of the consequences to be apprehended from the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of compulsion. His Lordship writes, in June 1776,

‘ I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have sent (in the state I received them), to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

‘ You will learn the nature of my mission, from the official despatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated; I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the King’s paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the Colonies. But, if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament; that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained, and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you, personally, of the regard with which I am, &c.’ (III. 365-7.)

Dr Franklin answered—

‘ I received safe the letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

‘ The official despatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of Parliament, viz, “ Offers of pardon upon submission;” which I was sorry to find; as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

‘ Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments.—It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceless towns in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our (peaceful) farmers; and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now \* bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear; but, were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured; you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the

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breaking

\* About this time the Hessians, &c. had just arrived from Europe at Staten Island and New York. — B. V.



breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

• But your Lordship mentions “the King’s paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the Colonies.” If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war; and his Majesty has given your Lordship powers to treat with us of such a peace; I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though, by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as possible the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard; and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate causes of war), will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and continually goad her on in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

• I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions; not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

• Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble porcelain vase—the British empire; for I knew that, being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their *share* of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when, at your good sister’s in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country; and, among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

• The well-founded esteem, and, permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship, make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which (as described in your letter) is “the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels.” To me it seems, that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other’s blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and

cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded, that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour, those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

‘I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

‘With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be,’ &c. (III. 367—371.)

None of Dr Franklin’s political writings, during the nine years when he resided as Ambassador at the Court of France, have yet been made public. Some of them, we should imagine, must be highly interesting.

Of the merit of this author as a political economist, we have already had occasion to say something, in the general remarks which we made on the character of his genius; and we cannot now spare time to go much into particulars. He is perfectly sound upon many important and practical points;—upon the corn-trade, and the theory of money, for instance; and also upon the more general doctrines, as to the freedom of commerce, and the principle of population. In the more elementary and abstract parts of the science, however, his views seem to have been less just and luminous. He is not very consistent or profound, in what he says of the effects of luxury; and seems to have gone headlong into the radical error of the *Economistes*, when he maintains, that all that is done by manufacture, is to embody the value of the manufacturer’s subsistence in his work, and that agriculture is the only source from which a real increase of wealth can be derived. Another favourite position is, that all commerce is *cheating*, where a commodity, produced by a certain quantity of labour, is exchanged for another, on which more labour has been expended; and that the only *fair* price of any thing, is some other thing requiring the same exertion to bring it to market. This is evidently a very narrow and erroneous view of the nature of commerce. The fair price to the purchaser is, whatever he deliberately chuses to give, rather than go without the commodity;—it is no matter to him, whether the seller bestowed much or little labour upon it, or whether it came into his possession without any labour at all;—whether it be a diamond, which he picked up, or a picture, at which he had been working for years. The commodity is not valued by the purchaser,

on account of the labour which is supposed to be embodied in it, but solely on account of certain qualities, which he finds convenient or agreeable; he compares the convenience and delight which he expects to derive from this object, with the convenience and delight which is afforded by the things asked in exchange for it; and if he find the former preponderate, he consents to the exchange, and makes a beneficial bargain. We have stated the case in the name of a purchaser, because, in barter, both parties are truly purchasers, and act upon the same principles; and it is easy to shew, that all commerce resolves itself ultimately into barter. There can be no unfairness in trade, except where there is concealment on the part of the seller, either of the defects of the commodity, or of the fact that the purchaser may be supplied with it at a cheaper rate by another. It is a matter of *fact*, but not of *morality*, that the price of most commodities will be influenced by the labour employed in producing them.—If they are capable of being produced in unlimited quantities, the competition of the producers will sink the price very nearly to what is necessary to maintain this labour; and the impossibility of continuing the production, without repaying that labour, will prevent it from sinking lower. The doctrine does not apply at all, to cases where the materials, or the skill necessary to work them up, are scarce in proportion to the demand. The author's speculation on the effects of paper-money, seem also to be superficial and inaccurate. *Statistics* had not been carefully studied in the days of his activity; and, accordingly, we meet with a good deal of loose assumption, and sweeping calculation, in his writings. Yet he had a genius for exact observation, and complicated detail; and probably wanted nothing but leisure, to have made very great advances in this branch of economy.

As a writer on morality and general literature, the merits of Dr Franklin cannot be estimated properly, without taking into consideration the peculiarities, that have been already alluded to, in his early history and situation. He never had the benefit of any academical instruction, nor of the society of men of letters;—his style was formed entirely by his own judgement and occasional reading; and most of his moral pieces were written while he was a tradesman, addressing himself to the tradesmen of his native city. We cannot expect, therefore, either that he should write with extraordinary elegance or grace; or that he should treat of the accomplishments, follies, and occupations of polite life. He had no great occasion, as a moralist, to expose the guilt and the folly of gaming or seduction; or to point a poignant and playful ridicule against the lighter immoralitys of fashionable life. To the

the mechanics and traders of Boston and Philadelphia, such warnings were altogether unnecessary; and he endeavoured, therefore, with more appropriate eloquence, to impress upon them the importance of industry, sobriety, and economy, and to direct their wise and humble ambition to the attainment of useful knowledge and honourable independence. That morality, after all, is certainly the most valuable, which is adapted to the circumstances of the greater part of mankind; and that eloquence is the most meritorious, that is calculated to convince and persuade the multitude to virtue. Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object, than most of Dr Franklin's compositions of this sort. The tone of familiarity, of good-will, and homely jocularity—the plain and pointed illustrations—the short sentences, made up of short words—and the strong sense, clear information, and obvious conviction of the author himself, make most of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence; and afford the finest specimens of a style which has been but too little cultivated in a country, which numbers perhaps more than 100,000 readers among its tradesmen and artificers.

In writings which possess such solid and unusual merit, it is of no great consequence that the fastidious eye of a critic can discover many blemishes. There is a good deal of vulgarity in the practical writings of Dr Franklin; and more vulgarity than was any way necessary for the object he had in view. There is something childish, too, in some of his attempts at pleasantry: his story of the Whistle, and his Parisian letter, announcing the discovery that the sun gives light as soon as he rises, are instances of this. The soliloquy of an Ephemeris, however, is much better; and both it, and the Dialogue with the Gout, are executed with the lightness and spirit of genuine French compositions. The Speech in the Divan of Algiers, composed as a parody on those of the defenders of the slave-trade, and the scriptural parable against persecution, are inimitable;—they have all the point and facility of the fine pleasantries of Swift and Arbuthnot, with something more of directness and apparent sincerity.

The style of his letters, in general, is excellent. They are chiefly remarkable, for great simplicity of language, admirable good sense and ingenuity, and an amiable and inoffensive cheerfulness, that is never overclouded or eclipsed. Among the most valuable of the writings that are published for the first time, in the present edition, are four letters from Dr Franklin to Mr Whalley, written within a few years of his death, and expressive of all that unbroken gaiety, philanthropy and activity, which distinguish the compositions of his earlier years. We give with pleasure the following extracts.

‘ I am not acquainted with the saying of Alphonfus, which you allude to as a sanctification of your rigidity, in refusing to allow me the plea of old age as an excuse for my want of exactitude in correspondence. What was that saying?—You do not, it seems, feel any occasion for such an excuse, though you are, as you say, rising 75, but I am rising (perhaps more properly falling) 80—and I leave the excuse with you till you arrive at that age; perhaps you may then be more sensible of its validity, and see fit to use it for yourself.

‘ I must agree with you, that the gout is bad, and that the stone is worse. I am happy in not having them both together; and I join in your prayer, that you may live till you die without either. But I doubt the author of the epitaph you sent me is a little mistaken, when, speaking of the world, he says, that

—————“ He ne’er car’d a pin  
What they said or may say of the mortal within.”

‘ It is so natural to wish to be well spoken of, whether alive or dead, that I imagine he could not be quite exempt from that desire, and that at least he wished to be thought a wit, or he would not have given himself the trouble of writing so good an epitaph to leave behind him.’  
—‘ You see I have some reason to wish that in a future state I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it: for I, too, with your poet, *trust in God*. And when I observe, that there is great frugality as well as wisdom in his works, since he has been evidently sparing, both of labour and materials; for by the various wonderful inventions of propagation, he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound substances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new compositions, he has prevented the necessity of creating new matter; for that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which being compounded, form wood, do, when the wood is dissolved, return, and again become air, earth, fire and water:—I say, that when I see nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water wasted, I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls, or believe that he will suffer the daily waste of millions of minds ready made that now exist, and put himself to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myself to exist in the world, I believe I shall in some shape or other always exist. And with all the inconveniences human *life* is liable to, I shall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping, however, that the errata of the last may be corrected.’ Vol. III. p. 546—548.

‘ Our constitution seems not to be well understood with you. If the congress were a permanent body, there would be more reason in being jealous of giving it powers. But its members are chosen annually, and cannot be chosen more than three years successively, nor more than three years in seven; and any of them may be recalled at any time, whenever their constituents shall be dissatisfied with their conduct. They are of the people, and return again to mix with the people, having no more durable preeminence than the different grains of sand in an hour-glass.

glass: Such an assembly cannot easily become dangerous to liberty. They are the servants of the people, sent together to do the people's business, and promote the public welfare; their powers must be sufficient, or their duties cannot be performed. They have no profitable appointments, but a mere payment of daily wages, such as are scarcely equivalent to their expences; so that, having no chance for great places and enormous salaries or pensions, as in some countries, there is no intriguing or bribing for elections. I wish old England were as happy in its government, but I do not see it. Your people, however, think their constitution the best in the world, and affect to despise ours. It is comfortable to have a good opinion of one's self, and of every thing that belongs to us; to think one's own religion, king, and wife, the best of all possible wives, kings, and religions. I remember three Greenlanders, who had travelled two years in Europe, under the care of some Moravian missionaries, and had visited Germany, Denmark, Holland and England; when I asked them at Philadelphia (when they were in their way home) whether, now they had seen how much more commodiously the white people lived by the help of the arts, they would not choose to remain among us—their answer was, that they were pleased with having had an opportunity of seeing many fine things, *but they chose to live in their own country*: which country, by the way, consisted of rock only; for the Moravians were obliged to carry earth in their ship from New York, for the purpose of making there a cabbage garden! III. 550. 551.

'You are now 78, and I am 82. You tread fast upon my heels: but, though you have more strength and spirit, you cannot come up with me till I stop, which must now be soon; for I am grown so old as to have buried most of the friends of my youth; and I now often hear persons, whom I knew when children, called *old* Mr such a one, to distinguish them from their sons, now men grown, and in business; so that, by living twelve years beyond *David's* period, I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity, when I ought to have been abed and asleep. Yet had I gone at 70, it would have cut off twelve of the most active years of my life, employed, too, in matters of the greatest importance; but whether I have been doing good or mischief, is for time to discover. I only know that I intended well, and I hope all will end well.

'Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to Dr Rowley. I am under great obligations to him, and shall write to him shortly. It will be a pleasure to him to hear that my malady does not grow sensibly worse, and that is a great point; for it has always been so tolerable, as not to prevent my enjoying the pleasures of society, and being cheerful in conversation. I owe this in a great measure to his good counsels. III. 555. 556.

'Your eyes must continue very good, since you are able to write so small a hand without spectacles. I cannot distinguish a letter even of large print, but am happy in the invention of double spectacles, which,  
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serving for distant objects as well as near ones, make my eyes as useful to me as ever they were. If all the other defects and infirmities of old age could be as easily and cheaply remedied, it would be worth while, my friend, to live a good deal longer. But I look upon death to be as necessary to our constitutions as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning.—Adieu, and believe me ever, &c.' III. 544. 545.

There is something extremely amiable in old age, when thus exhibited without querulousness, discontent, or impatience, and free, at the same time, from any affected or unbecoming levity. We think there must be many more of Dr Franklin's letters in existence, than have yet been given to the public; and from the tone and tenor of those which we have seen, we are satisfied that they would be read with general avidity and improvement.

His account of his own life, down to the year 1730, has been in the hands of the public since 1790. It is written with great simplicity and liveliness, though it contains too many trifling details and anecdotes of obscure individuals. It affords a striking example of the irresistible force with which talents and industry bear upwards in society, as well as an impressive illustration of the substantial wisdom and good policy of invariable integrity and candour. We should think it a very useful reading for all young persons of unsteady principle, who have their fortunes to make or to mend in the world.

Upon the whole, we look upon the life and writings of Dr Franklin as affording a striking illustration of the incalculable value of a sound and well directed understanding, and of the comparative uselessness of learning and laborious accomplishments. Without the slightest pretensions to the character of a scholar or a man of science, he has extended the bounds of human knowledge on a variety of subjects, which scholars and men of science had previously investigated without success; and has only been found deficient in those studies which the learned have generally turned from in disdain. We would not be understood to say any thing in disparagement of scholarship and science; but the value of these instruments is apt to be overrated by their possessors; and it is a wholesome mortification, to shew them that the work may be done without them. We have long known, that their employment does not ensure its success.

ART. VIII. *Memoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose : Contenant des Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques et Literaires, relatives à plusieurs des principaux Personages du Siecle. Trois Volumes. 8vo. pp. 900. Londres. Dalau. 1806.*

THE work which this affected title announces, turns out to be a rambling, gossiping life of Mr Dutens, well known as the author of an Itinerary, a book on the ancient anticipations of modern discoveries, and several trifles in the antiquarian and literary line. We acknowledge, ourselves in a good degree disappointed by the execution of the present undertaking. One who enjoyed so many opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance of celebrated characters,—who has lived above half a century in good society in various parts of Europe,—who has generally passed for an agreeable companion, and, as such, must have, in conversation, the art of narration, might have been expected to fill a small number of volumes with many more striking passages and interesting anecdotes than can be discovered in the performance now before us. We by no means intend to assert, that it is either dull or ill written; but it contains far less interesting matter than we had a right to expect from the opportunities and talents of the author. We proceed, however, to make our readers acquainted with Mr Dutens, who, of course, forms the chief subject of the book.

Mr Dutens, or, as he calls himself throughout this work, Duchillon, is a member of a very ancient family in France. He was educated, as usually happens to those who write their own lives, by the most tender of parents, and passed his early years in reading poems, romances, and books of a similar description. From thence he rose to a slight acquaintance with writers of history and morals, until, by degrees, he arrived at that age when the heart begins to feel ‘*un sentiment inexplicable,—sentiment amer et doux,—source d’inquietudes et de plaisirs.*’ In short, he fell desperately in love with a schoolmaster’s daughter, who, according to the fashion of all damsels of this description, immediately returned his flame, and insisted on his naming the marriage-day instantly. He applied to his father for this purpose, and poured out to him his whole heart; but love it should seem wanted its usual eloquence on that occasion; for the only answer which old Mr Dutens thought proper to give, was a sound box on the ear, ‘intimating thereby, with sufficient precision, that the proposition was not at all to his liking.’ The chagrin which this failure occasioned, made our author suddenly and secretly quit his father’s house, and take the road to Angers, where his evil genius



genius still pursued him, and he again fell in love with his landlord's daughter, who proved as complaisant as his former love had been. But her father took umbrage at his addresses, and drove him from the premises, so that he was obliged to set out for Nantz. Here the same planet continued to rule his destiny, and a third unsuccessful passion drove him away—to Paris; whither he repaired, with the true taste of a Frenchman in despair, to see the *fêtes* which were then about to be celebrated for the peace. His first occupation, on arriving in the capital, was to write a tragedy, which was of course rejected. His next was to resume his old vocation, and fall in love with a lady of all manner of perfections. With her he was on the eve of accomplishing his union, when her enraged parent arrived and hurried her away from his sight, leaving him in the parlour of the boarding school overwhelmed with unruly grief, and with difficulty kept by the rest of the misses from dashing his head to pieces against the wall.

Our author's family were rigid Protestants, and exposed to all the intolerable persecutions which awaited the dissenters from the Catholic church in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Of these he had a very near view in his own house. The archbishop of his diocese ordered to be carried off by force, from the arms of his parents, a sister twelve years old, in order to have her shut up in a convent. No intreaties, addressed either to the ministry or the prelate, could obtain the slightest relaxation of this cruel order; the young woman was detained during four years; at the end of which, she abjured the religion of her father in self-defence, and took the veil. We must here, for a moment, interrupt our narrative, to contemplate, in passing, the wretchedness of a country which groaned under oppressions like these. With all the complicated evils which the revolution has entailed upon France, it is perhaps enough to state, that religious toleration,—the abolition of such odious tyranny as appears in the incidental circumstance just now related, has been secured by this mighty event, in order to prove that, upon the whole, France has rather gained than suffered by the change. At any rate, we must admit, that the consideration of those powers, vested in the church over the dissenters, fully justified our author in the resolution, which the fate of his sister induced him to form, of leaving a country so inhospitable to the best and most industrious part of her children. He accordingly once more quitted his father's house, and set out for England, with the intention of making it his adopted home.

In his way to the coast, he passed through a town where two English ladies were residing for the benefit of their health.

Hearing

Hearing that one of these was Miss Pitt, sister of the Minister, he contrived to procure an introduction to them; and with that talent of subserviency, which never failed him through life, he made himself, in a short time, rather necessary to their existence, than agreeable to their society.—‘*Je me conduisis si bien,*’ says he, ‘*dans cette maison, que l’on ne pouvoit plus s’y passer de moi.*’ He also fell desperately in love, for the fifth time, with Miss Taylor, the companion of Miss Pitt, who returned his passion with equal ardour; whom he soon after met again in England, where they exchanged mutual vows of eternal fidelity; and whom he instantly gave over all thoughts of; at least we hear no more of her through the whole course of the memoirs. From Miss Pitt he received a letter for her brother, the late Lord Chatham, who at first received him kindly, and then suddenly shut his door against him, in consequence of his sister having had some words with one of our author’s relatives in France. After a short and unprofitable stay in England, he returned to his father’s house, and fell sick. During a dangerous illness and tedious recovery, he was nursed by his sister, and taught religion; a lesson to which he owes his whole future happiness; and what he states as much more unmingled and exalted, the undeviating rectitude and unsullied purity of his whole subsequent life. In truth, we have not happened before to fall in with so perfect a character as these memoirs present to us. Mr Dutens candidly and frequently confesses, that, unfashionable as it may appear, his nature is blameless; and his conduct, in thought, word, and deed, for a period of fourscore years, altogether devoid of impropriety. Not that he glories in these high gifts. On the contrary, his motto is always ‘*Deo laus.*’ He ascribes every thing to the salutary influence of religion.

Thus fortified and fitted out anew, he returned to London, and was soon after received into the family of a Mr Wyche, as tutor to his son. He now found, rather inopportunately, that he had grievously neglected his own education, and that he knew none of the things which he had been hired to teach. By incessant labour, however, he contrived to keep somewhat ahead of his pupil; and when, at length, Mr Wyche descried his ignorance of the higher branches of learning, he very amiably took upon himself the instruction both of his son and his tutor. In this worthy family, our author seems to have passed several very tranquil, profitable, and happy years. He describes his way of life with great feeling, and has excited, in his reader, no small interest in behalf of his amiable friends, when, unfortunately, his pupil dies. This event plunged him into a state of grief, not easily exceeded by any imagination, and he continued so absorb-

ed for six months. The instruction of a young sister of his deceased pupil, born deaf and dumb, was the first occupation in which he could interest himself. By degrees he was more and more engaged by this pursuit; and, at last, he and his fair pupil became inseparable. But it is always the fate of Mr Dutens to be fallen in love with by his female friends; and Miss Wyche soon proved a most desperate lover. Ignorant of the forms and proprieties of life, she even went so far as to make a pretty bold attempt on our immaculate author's person. He, too, was not without senses and passions; but, on this trying emergency, where all morality must have failed, religion came to his aid, and saved him; insomuch, that he resolutely stopt the young lady in her singular pursuit, and took occasion to give her a concise dissertation on the nature of the matrimonial institution, the state of society, and other points of learning, for which, at that time, she seems to have had no great appetite. But the author must tell this story himself.

‘ Miss Wyche conçût de l'inclination pour moi. Un jour que nous étions seuls, et dans mon appartement, après m'avoir fait quelques-unes de ces caresses que je regardois comme très innocentes, et auxquelles je m'étois prêté avec la même intention, elle témoigna moins de retenue qu'à l'ordinaire. J'avoue que je fus embarrassé de savoir en ce moment quel parti prendre: j'étois dans l'âge où les passions parlent fortement au cœur; j'avois une tendresse pour ma jolie élève, que je croyois fondée à la vérité sur la compassion; mais ne pouvois-je pas m'être fait illusion? et les charmes d'une jeune fille de dix-huit ans n'étoient-ils pas plus propres à m'avoir inspiré ce sentiment que sa situation infortunée? Quel que fût le motif de l'intérêt que je prenois à elle, heureusement la considération de ce que je devois à moi-même, à une famille respectable, à l'honneur, à la religion, se présentèrent en foule à mon esprit: j'eus presque honte d'avoir hésité, et je retins Mademoiselle Wyche d'une main, en lui serrant la main de l'autre, pour adoucir mon refus. Elle fut étonnée et même un peu confondue de ma résistance; elle me fit des reproches de mon peu d'empressement, et m'en demanda la raison. Je savois bien qu'il étoit inutile de lui parler de bon ordre nécessaire à la société, qui se maintient par le mariage, et que de ces deux principes naissent les règles de la décence et de la chasteté; cependant je hasardai de lui tenir à peu près ce langage, qui lui parut encore plus incompréhensible que celui que j'avois tenu sur la divinité. Enfin, lassé de ma morale, qu'elle n'entendoit point, elle me quitta fort mécontente de moi. Le lendemain elle me boudoit; je cherchai à la ramener, et je ne fus pas long-temps à y réussir; mais je ne fis ma paix que pour résumer le sujet de la veille: tout ce qu'elle avoit compris de mes raisons, avoit été que le mariage rendoit les caresses légitimes. Elle me demanda si elle avoit bien entendu? Je dis qu'oui. Eh bien! reprit-elle, marions-nous donc, et ne me tourmentez plus avec vos lois et vos règles. Je lui dis

dis qu'il falloit avoir le consentement de son père et de sa mère, qui peut-être ne voudroient pas le donner ; mais que je penserois au moyen de lever cette difficulté. Elle se retira plus contente de moi ce jour-là ; mais je vis bien qu'elle n'étoit pas d'humeur à me laisser long-temps tranquille sur ce chapitre.' l. 93, 94.

The consequence of this adventure was, that, to avoid being married by Miss Wyche, he left the house, and accepted the offer of a gentleman going to Turin on a diplomatic mission, and who was in want of a private secretary.

Accordingly, he set out for Turin with Mr Mackenzie Stuart, brother of Lord Bute, and very soon, after his manner, became absolutely necessary to his patron's existence. At Turin, he enjoyed, of course, all the good society which belonged to the place ; and which constantly received additions and varieties from the passage of travellers through that great thoroughfare of Italy. How far Mr Dutens profited by such enviable opportunities, must be decided by the experience of those who have known him in private life, and not altogether by his own general assertions. That his written life has benefited much less than it might have done, by his intercourse with eminent characters, may be safely affirmed. We meet with few good descriptions, either of manners or individuals ; and not many anecdotes which, from their liveliness or instructiveness, deserve to be noticed. The two which follow are a very favourable specimen of his talent in this line ; and are certainly somewhat interesting, as well from the celebrity of the men who are their subjects, as from the neatness of the narration :

‘ Une autre fois, nous parlions de l'avarice du fameux Duc de Marlborough ; et je disois que je ne pouvois croire ce que l'on m'avoit dit de lui, qu'un soir, dans un tête-à-tête, il eût éteint une des deux bougies qui brûloient dans sa chambre. Cela est pourtant vrai, dit vivement le Marquis (de Breille), c'étoit avec moi : le Prince Eugène m'envoya un soir lui donner avis de quelque disposition qu'il faisoit pour une attaque le lendemain. Le Duc de Marlborough étoit déjà couché, on l'éveilla : je fus introduit auprès de son lit ; un valet-de-chambre posa deux bougies sur la table de nuit, et se retira. Au commencement de la conversation, qui sembloit devoir être longue, le Duc de Marlborough, tout en m'écoutant, mit sans rien dire l'éteignoir sur une des bougies qui brûloient, et continua de prêter attention à ce que j'avois ordre de lui dire.' Vol. I. p. 108.

The other anecdote relates to Prince Kaunitz, and was communicated to our author by Count de Torre Palma, formerly Spanish ambassador at Vienna.

‘ Il crut s'apercevoir, à cette Court, qu'on voyoit ses lettres ; un jour, surtout, il fit remarquer à son secrétaire, avant de les décacheter, qu'un tel paquet devoit avoir été ouvert ; et il en fut convaincu un moment

après, lorsqu'ayant trouvé une dépêche qui n'étoit point signée, son secrétaire reconnut l'écriture pour être de main Allemande, et non Espagnole, et l'assura qu'elle étoit écrite de la main d'un des commis du Bureau des Affaires Etrangères. Il produisit même des papiers donnés en réponse à quelques-uns de leurs mémoires, qui ne laissèrent plus lieu de douter de la vérité du fait ; et ils s'imaginèrent aisément que, dans la précipitation où ces choses se font ordinairement dans les Bureaux, on avoit remis, dans l'enveloppe du paquet, la copie de la dépêche, au lieu de l'original. L'Ambassadeur, sans perdre de temps, se transporte chez le Prince de Kaunitz ; il est admis : Mon Prince, dit-il, ordonnez, je vous prie, que vos commis me restituent ma dépêche, dont ils m'ont envoyé seulement la copie, et gardé l'original. Ah ! M. l'Ambassadeur, dit le Prince, sans paroître embarrassé, je vous demande mille pardons de la peine que vous avez eue ; ces étourdis me font tous les jours de pareils traits. Disant cela, il sonne, et fait appeler un de ses secrétaires : Allons donc, Monsieur, rendez la dépêche de M. l'Ambassadeur, dont il n'a reçu que la copie ; et apprenez une autre fois à ne point faire de tels *quiproquès*. Et quand la dépêche fut produite : M. l'Ambassadeur, dit le Prince, en la lui remettant, je suis mortifié que leur sottise vous ait occasionné ce dérangement ; et il le reconduisit fort poliment, sans paroître attacher plus d'importance à la bêtise qui lui attiroit cette visite.' Vol. I. p. 117. 118.

When Mr Mackenzie, his principal, was obliged to return home, our author, though a Frenchman, and at a period when this country was at war with France, was left our *chargé d'affaires* at the court of Turin. It is needless to add, that he performed the functions of his office to admiration ; and he strictly pursued also the line of undeviating morality. In all the intrigues of court, as well as in affairs of the heart, he assures us, his conduct was pure and exemplary. Not a blot could ever attach to his name. Nor was this owing, says he, as some superficial observers conceived, to philosophy. That would, he asserts, be paying philosophy too great a compliment—'*La religion seule peut fournir des armes à l'épreuve des traits de l'amour, et de la volupté. Heureusement pour moi, je n'ai jamais perdu de vue une ressource aussi efficace qu'elle est salutaire.*' The rigid observance of truth and sincerity was one of the innovations which his principles made him introduce into his new profession. He talks much of this, and cites an instance of his frustrating a political design of his principal, and incurring his indignation, by refusing to say *yes* instead of *no* on an immaterial occasion. After these *tirades*, the reader who is aware of this species of moralist, is led to expect some signal example of unfairness and duplicity. Accordingly, five pages after the above remarks, we find Mr Dutens relating how, in order to gain credit with the ministry in his new functions, he concealed certain information of importance from his principal, who

was

was also his patron and benefactor, and wrote it in a despatch to Mr Pitt the very day of his departure.

After filling this very respectable station for several months, he returned to England by the way of Paris. There he made himself agreeable to the English whom he happened to meet; and had an opportunity in their company of seeing Sterne, of whom he relates the following anecdote, being one among many proofs of that sentimental person's contemptible character.

‘ Nous étions au temps de l’anniversaire de la naissance du Roi d’Angleterre : Milord Tavistock invita, ce jour-là, le peu d’Anglois qui étoient à Paris, à dîner avec lui pour le célébrer. Je fus de la partie, où je ne trouvai de ma connoissance que ceux avec qui j’étois venu à Paris. Je fus assis entre Milord Berkeley, qui alloit à Turin, et le fameux Sterne, auteur de *Tristram Shandy*, regardé comme le Rabelais de l’Angleterre. On fut fort gai pendant le dîner, et l’on but à l’Angloise, et selon le jour. La conversation vint à tomber sur Turin, où plusieurs de la compagnie alloient; sur quoi M. Sterne m’adressant la parole, me demanda si j’y connoissois M. D\*\*\* en me nommant; je lui dis qu’oui, et même fort intimement. Toute la compagnie se prit à rire; et Sterne, qui ne me croyoit pas si près de lui, s’imagina que ce M. D\*\*\* devoit être un homme assez bizarre, puisque son nom seul faisoit rire ceux qui l’entendoient. N’est-ce pas un homme un peu singulier? ajouta-t-il tout de suite. ‘Oui, repris-je, un original. Je m’en étois bien douté, continua-t-il; j’ai entendu parler de lui; et là-dessus il se mit à faire mon portrait, auquel je fis mine d’acquiescer; et voyant que le sujet réjouissoit la compagnie, il se mit à inventer, dans la fertilité de son esprit, plusieurs contes à sa façon, qu’il fit durer, au grand plaisir de tous, jusqu’à ce que l’heure vint de se séparer. Je sortis le premier; et à peine fus-je hors de la maison, qu’on lui dit qui j’étois: on lui donna à entendre que, par respect pour Milord Tavistock, je m’étois contenu; mais que je n’étois pas traitable, et qu’il pouvoit s’attendre à me voir, le lendemain, lui demander raison des méchans propos qu’on lui persuada qu’il avoit tenus de moi. Il crut, en effet, qu’il avoit poussé la raillerie trop loin; car il étoit un peu gai: il vint le jour suivant me trouver, et me demander pardon de ce qu’il pouvoit avoir dit qui m’eût déplu, s’excusant sur la circonstance, et sur la démangeaison qu’il avoit eue d’amuser un peu la compagnie, qu’il y avoit vue si bien disposée, des qu’il avoit prononcé mon nom; mais je l’arrêtai tout court, en l’assurant que je m’étois amusé de son erreur autant qu’un autre; qu’il n’avoit rien dit qui pût m’offenser; et que, s’il connoissoit l’homme dont il avoit parlé, aussi bien que je le faisois, il en auroit pu dire beaucoup plus de mal. Il fut enchanté de ma réponse, m’embrassa, me demanda mon amitié, et me quitta fort satisfait de moi. ’ (I. 165-7.)

He seems to have known pretty accurately what went on at the negotiations for the peace of Paris, and gives rather a curious account of the mode in which they were conducted. The Bailli de Solar was Sardinian minister at Paris, and enjoyed the Duc de

Choiseul's confidence. The Count de Viry was Sardinian minister at London; and both these functionaries were charged by their master to lend every assistance to the treaty in contemplation. Accordingly, Lord Bute received always his orders from the King (by which, we presume Mr Dutens means the Cabinet), and then communicated them to his brother Mr Mackenzie, who gave them to Viry, and he transmitted them to the Bailli de Solar at Paris, who discussed the matter, according to their tenor, with Choiseul. Choiseul and Lord Bute corresponded also directly; and, as soon as any article was agreed on, it was passed officially through Lord Egremont's department. When the preliminaries were finally settled, they were signed, as is well known, by the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and the Duc de Nivernois at London.

After remaining some time at London, obtaining a good pension, and augmenting the list of noblemen to whose existence he was more than half necessary, our author returned to Turin, and again resumed the functions of *chargé d'affaires*. He employed his leisure in writing several of the works known by his name, and in publishing his edition of Leibnitz. In compiling this edition, he had occasion to write a preface upon certain points in mathematical science, which he confesses he understands nothing about. It was so much approved of, that he argues from thence in favour of authors confining themselves to subjects of which they are ignorant; a theory which may guide us, perhaps, in divining the reasons for Mr Dutens's choice of topics in some of his subsequent speculations. After a stay of several months at Turin, he once more left it; and does not by any means conceal his disappointment at the King of Sardinia allowing him to depart without making him a present of a snuff-box, on which he had entirely made up his mind.

About the time of our author's return to England, his acquaintance with the Northumberland family commenced. It seems to have been his only failure; at least he got nothing by it; and accordingly, the noble persons of that house are absolutely the only characters of any distinction, towards whom, during the whole of his book, he allows himself the smallest freedom of criticism. Against them, however, he did not fail to play off assiduously the whole artillery of his talents in society; and to recommend himself to their good graces, seems to have been the primary object of his life, from the moment he was admitted into Northumberland house, up to the unfortunate period of the Duke's going into opposition. The following sketch of his *début* in that family may illustrate some of our remarks upon Mr Dutens's habits and manners, and prepare our readers for the opinion which we shall find it necessary to state

state respecting him before concluding the present article. After mentioning the members of the noble family in question, and shortly describing them, he adds—

‘Voilà quelles étoient les deux personnes auxquelles je consacrai tout mon temps et mes soins, avec le zèle que peut donner seul l’enthousiasme. J’étois ébloui de la magnificence du Duc ; comme enchanté par les politesses et les attentions dont il m’honorait, et surtout flatté de la distinction que faisoit de moi la Duchesse. Ayant alors plus de souplesse dans l’esprit que je n’ai à présent, je la mettois toute en usage pour les intéresser en ma faveur. Le Duc aimait les arts et les sciences ; j’entrois dans tous ses goûts, je causais avec lui sur tous les sujets ; et il trouvoit qu’il pouvoit varier davantage la conversation avec moi, qu’avec tout autre. La Duchesse se plaçoit, au contraire, à des petits jeux d’esprit dans un cercle d’amis, et s’amusoit à recueillir des estampes, des médailles, et à faire d’autres collections en différens genres : j’avois l’air de n’avoir jamais fait autre chose ; et le soir j’assistais à ses jeux de société, et me rendois utile à ses plaisirs : cette suite d’attentions ne fut interrompue que par une petite expédition que je fis à Paris.’ (I. 227-8.)

The catastrophe of the Duke going into opposition, which seems all at once to have changed our author’s opinion of him, is mentioned in the following moving terms : ‘Le Duc s’étoit jeté depuis peu dans le parti de l’opposition, et précisément dans le même tems le bénéfice de vingt mille livres de rente qui le Roi m’avoit promis étoit venu à vaquer,’ &c. Although the new light which this conduct of the Duke gave our author respecting his character, could not fail to alter his whole system of tactics regarding Northumberland-House, yet he did not fail, from time to time, when he had no other great man to beset, and was, as it were, out of place, to frequent that haunt of his younger days. He seems always, on such occasions, to have had his hopes renewed, although he soon discovered that the Duke did nothing for his dependants ; and, at length, no longer able to bear his fate in making nothing out of him, he retired in disgust to the country, despising the world, hating the great who had so grievously neglected him, and abjuring, for the rest of his life, all attendance upon rich men and lords. Nay, so seriously did he set about this radical reform in his system, that he took with him Regnier’s ‘*Satyre sur les Grands*,’ ‘afin d’avoir toujours avec moi cet excellent préservatif contre les attraites de leur commerce.’

Thus equipped for philosophy, and resolved to live for himself, did Mr Dutens, at the ripe age of fifty years, quit, for the first time, the habits of a dangler in large houses, and plunge into the attractive pleasure of solitude and literature, a country parsonage, and a limited tenth part of that produce which he had been accustomed to enjoy entirely. But the change was of transient duration. Either Regnier’s *Satyre* had lost its virtue, or the country



had ceased to charm, or our author's mind soared above his lot; for the next chapter begins with this title, '*Inconstance et foiblesse de l'auteur—Il s'embarque de nouveau sur la mer orageuse du grand monde*;' and the chapter proceeds to tell, how, almost as soon as he had begun his new plan of life, he read in a newspaper Lord Mountstuart's appointment as resident at Turin, and instantly set all his engines of intrigue in motion to get himself adopted as his private secretary. This attempt was successful, and he set out with the family, as usual, in the capacity of what is vulgarly termed a *fac-totum* and sometimes gets a worse appellation, but is more politely and picturesquely described in the following sentences:

'Mistress étoit enceinte de six mois. C'étoit par là que je valois quelque chose. Je me chargeai de tout; je la priai de se reposer sur moi du succès de son voyage, et j'acquis si bien sa confiance, par mes soins et mon zèle pour elle, qu'il n'y avoit plus moyen de se passer de moi. On n'entreprendoit rien, on ne faisoit rien, que je n'eusse été consulté, et que je n'eusse donné mon approbation; j'étois le chef de l'expédition, l'oracle de la partie, un homme unique; on me devoit tout ce bien-être dont on jouissoit.'—'Quel bonheur,' he very naturally adds, or makes them exclaim, we know not which, 'quel bonheur d'avoir un tel ami! Qu'auroit-on fait sans moi?' II. 150.

This visit to the Continent presents the same incidents with the former ones. Mr Dutens is the life of Turin, and of every other place where Providence bestows him, the soul of the business in which he is required to take a part, and, indeed, to say the truth, of all the other business that goes on near him; for in all he takes his share. Lord and Lady Mountstuart tire of him; he intrigues a reconciliation; travels about sometimes with them, sometimes alone, in which case he carries along with him a travelling library of select volumes in *nine* different languages, and is received every where, particularly by princes, and most of all by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, afterwards Leopold II., with a distinguished attention, 'which would have tempted him to form a high opinion of his own merit.' 'Si je n'avois pas été autant en garde que je l'étois, contre l'amour propre et la vanité.' This accounts easily and expeditiously for what the reader would otherwise have been surprised at, the remarkable modesty of Mr Dutens's style. Another quality which he confesses to, is *mauvaise-honte*. 'J'ai toujours eu une mauvaise-honte, qui dans plusieurs occasions m'a jeté dans l'embarras.' One straightway wonders how such a quality as this could have permitted our author to pursue the profession to which his life has so successfully been devoted; but he proceeds to explain it as follows: 'Je n'ai jamais pu refuser tout net une offre avantageuse, ou flatteuse en apparence, quelque éloignée qu'elle pût être de me convenir,' from which

which the young student of French may gather, that *mauvaise-honte* signifies, according to the best authors, 'greediness.'

The various excursions to the Continent, related in the course of Mr Dutens's second volume, produce very few anecdotes of sufficient interest to relieve the general dullness of the narrative, and offer but little information which is worth the trouble of extracting or abridging. He describes, with some liveliness, the manner of entertainment at a great French chateau, in his account of his residence with the family of Choiseul. No style of living, indeed, can be figured more perfectly refined, more abundant in all the elegance and delicacy of the most polished times, or more calculate to secure the enjoyment of the highest of all pleasures, the delights of perfectly good society. We regret that the passage is too long for an extract; and it obviously does not admit of an abridgement. His accounts of various French characters of eminence are marked by no prominent quality, except ignorance of general subjects, frequently coupled with intolerable prejudice and bigotry. Turgot is accused of the narrowest and most contemptible jealousy in little things; and he is denounced as a friend of anarchy, because a 'friend to the economists, and other false philosophers.' This idea of the Economists is indeed rather amusing. They were, it seems, a subdivision of the Encyclopedists, whom the Duke de Choiseul humorously used to call '*Les Capucins de l'Encyclopedie*;' and 'to be admitted into their number, it was only necessary for a multitude of middling writers to adorn their works with some common-place against the most sacred and respectable of subjects.' The author of a work on the comparative progress of different ages in all the various branches of human science, might have naturally been expected to know a little more of the history of the most recent sect of philosophers which has acquired any celebrity. His chief violence, however, is reserved for M. Condorcet, because he had attacked an obscure work of M. Dutens. His character is therefore traduced without moderation or measure. He is talked of as an ignorant, despicable person, and treated, through several clumsy pages of bad raillery, with an insufferable tone of contempt. 'Il étoit,' says our author, 'le dénigreur de mon ouvrage.' Of d'Alembert a better account is given; and we cheerfully extract the following passage, which conveys a very amiable trait in the character of that illustrious man.

'M. d'Alembert étoit fils naturel de Madame de Tencin, sœur du Cardinal de ce nom, et de M. Destouches. Il fut exposé à sa naissance, et recueilli par la femme d'un vitrier, qui en prit soin comme de son propre fils. Cependant M. Destouches, qui ne l'avoit pas perdu de vue, pourvut à son éducation; et fit parvenir secrètement les moyens

nécessaires pour y subvenir. Quand il devint célèbre par son esprit et son savoir, il fut introduit dans le monde par Madame la Marquise du Deffant. Madame de Tencin, qui aimoit les beaux esprits, eût bien voulu le reconnoître ; mais il se refusa à son desir, en disant qu'il ne reconnoissoit point d'autre mère que celle qui avoit pris soin de son enfance. En effet, il regarda toujours la pauvre vitrière comme sa mère, et continua d'avoir pour elle les plus grandes attentions jusqu'à sa mort. Il connut Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse chez Madame du Deffant, qui l'avoit fait venir de province pour lui tenir compagnie : elle étoit fille naturelle du Marquis du Deffant, et elle avoit une humeur et un esprit si agréables qu'elle faisoit les délices de la société de cette dame. Mais s'étant brouillée avec elle, M. d'Alembert épousa sa querelle ; et tous deux ayant pris un appartement dans la même maison, ils y établirent une assemblée de beaux esprits, qui enleva à Madame du Deffant une grande partie de ceux qui frequentoient sa maison.' II. p. 59. 60.

In the whole course of his Memoirs, we have already hinted, Mr Dutens never can be brought to talk slightly or disrespectfully of any person of wealth or rank. An admiration, approaching to devotion, binds him, on all occasions of this description. Peter III. of Russia, he seems to think, on the authority of Princes D'Aschkoff, died a natural death. All kings are immaculate ; all courtiers pure and able, provided they do not quarrel with the ministry of the day ; and all persons, of whatever rank, having large houses, full of good cheer, and open to parasites, are secure of the immortality which our author dispenses, and obtain a share of the same gift for their friends and guests. We have seldom met, in romance, with such an assemblage of all-accomplished persons, as the knot whom he describes as frequenting Mr Mackenzie's house. One of these perfect characters, however, Count Woronzow, has been rather shy of accepting the eulogiums poured upon him ; in truth, immediately upon reading in Mr Dutens that he had gained a battle or two by his personal prowess and skill, and further, that his son, when a boy, was called by General Tzitzianoff, his right hand, he published a letter in all the newspapers, affirming that there was not the slightest foundation for either of those stories. Should all the noble and wealthy characters, who are praised without reserve in these volumes, adopt the same method of vindicating the truth, we fear the publication of the work would rather lead to troublesome consequences. Before concluding this topic, we may add, that nothing, even in this book, comes up to the fulsomeness of adulation with which the lady of one of the present ministry is attacked, we can call it nothing else, under the form of a character drawn of her, and which was transmitted to herself. After a mass of the most disgusting flattery, of panegyric infinitely too great for the merits of any human being, he adds, as a candid admission to give his

fletch.

sketch relief, that this lady has perhaps one fault, she is somewhat too severe in her hatred of vice, and her contempt for folly.

Having, in the course of this article, given a sketch of Mr Dutens's own history, we shall now briefly close it. Notwithstanding the Duke of Northumberland forfeited his monopoly of our author, by leaving the court party, and by doing nothing great for him, and notwithstanding his bitter feelings against him on these accounts, he was far from forsaking that noble person; more especially as he advanced in life, and approached the period when men usually think of leaving the world, and of settling their affairs, distributing their earthly goods, &c. our author's affluities seem to have quickened. We lament to find that he did not reap the fruits of so wise and judicious a line of conduct. With Mr Mackenzie he was more fortunate; when that gentleman died, how great was his astonishment, to find that he had left him a third part of his personal property—an equal share with his two nephews! At this he rejoiced, because 'it was an honourable sanction to his character and conduct, to be remembered in the will of so respectable a person as Mr Mackenzie;' which is a very new reason for being pleased at receiving a large legacy.

Upon the whole, our opinion of this work and of its author, is nearly the same. Neither the merits of the one, nor the life of the other, claim any considerable portion of our respect. Of the various capacities in which he has appeared,—as an author of forgotten books—an attendant upon the rich and great—a leader of their children round the tour of Europe—a clergyman—a *chargé d'affaires*—the historian of his own life and times—and a measurer of the post-roads on the Continent,—we chiefly value him in his last function. It may be thought going out of our bounds, thus to criticise the life and character of an author, when his works only are before us: but let it be remembered, that the nature of his present publication brings his personal merits directly under our review. We must therefore be excused for expressing our free opinion, that the main occupation of his life has been one which frequently brings learning and wit into contempt, by subjecting those pure and inestimable gifts to the caprices of rank, and the vulgar insolence of wealth; and that Mr Dutens can only now claim our respect in his quality of a worn-out *odometer*, which may have been serviceable in its day.

ART. IX. *A Letter to William Wilberforce Esq. M. P. on the Justice and Expediency of Slavery and the Slave Trade, and on the best Means to improve the Manners and Condition of the Negroes in the West Indies.* By Robert Heron Esq. London. Maxwell & Jordan. 1806.

POLITICAL controversy has sometimes been compared to prize-fighting; but the defeated literary champion of a desperate cause, has one great advantage over the beaten pugilist. When a champion is unable to sustain the honours of his fist against a new rival, there is no choice but to *give in*, or to have his ribs beat in by his antagonist. But, in the conflicts of the pen, no such dire alternative awaits the vanquished combatant. If he possesses only enough of that *bottom*, which is said to abound on the banks of the Shannon, he can never be compelled to surrender. Though knocked down a hundred times, and unable to *stand up to his man* a moment without *shifting*, he may make at least a drawn battle; for he may protract the contest till his antagonist is weary, till the spectators and judges are tired out, and even the bottle-holders quit the ring in disgust.

We can imagine no other motive for the temerity of the slave traders in venturing upon another round, where the odds are so fearfully against them. If the most complete falsification of all their premises of fact; if the strongest impeachment of the principles on which they rely; if the clearest refutation of the shocking inferences for which, upon those bad principles and false premises, they contend; or if the frequent repetition of all these falling blows, could have silenced the apologists of the slave-trade, there would long since have been an end of this controversy.

But there are no limits to the power of restating the same arguments which have been refuted, and repeating the same falsehoods which have been disproved; and to do this without at all noticing the decisive answers which have been given, or the conclusive evidence which has been adduced against them, is the constant policy of these writers.

We lament to say, that it is an artifice by no means useless to that bad cause, on behalf of which it is employed. A pamphlet is pushed out, opportunely, when any new application to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade is approaching, and is circulated by other means than its own proper attractions, or the assiduity of the publisher, in those channels where its influence may chance to be useful. Unfortunately, this great and most interesting subject, though so familiar to the public ear by name, is still known only by name, to a considerable portion of the community,

munity, and even to men of great political influence, as some striking and honourably candid confessions lately made in Parliament may evince; and when such men begin to inquire what the grounds of this famous controversy are, they naturally look for information on that side, in support of which ordinary notions and feelings can furnish no arguments *a priori*, to account for its having been so long and successfully defended. A new pamphlet, therefore, in defence of the slave trade, may find many readers, who neither know, nor are likely to take pains to inquire, what has formerly been written or proved on the other side; and, with such persons, a tenth edition of old falsehoods, with a new title, will pass as well as new inventions, supposing that their predecessors in this honourable service had left any thing for their present followers to invent. To offer proofs of the facts asserted, or even to mention that they have been controverted, might put the reader on his guard. These writers therefore carefully avoid that hazard, and either tacitly or expressly assume, that they reason from premises which their opponents do not dispute; a proceeding, the very effrontery of which, in a cause which has been publicly agitated during eighteen years, prevents the suspicion of an ordinary reader, and therefore often obtains for these impostures a ready and implicit belief.

These remarks may convey a salutary caution to such of our readers as are not well acquainted with the Parliamentary evidence and arguments on the great subject which Mr Heron has undertaken to discuss. We do not mean, however, to insinuate that the writings of this gentleman are likely to have any such effect. Our caution rather points at his fellow-labourers in general; and we heartily wish, that, in the use of the same fictitious premises, they had all reasoned from them as innocently as the author before us.

The well chosen vehicle of Mr Heron's effusions, is a violent impeachment of that vile man Mr Wilberforce, who is interrogated and objugated in every page, and accused of diabolical perseverance in his attempts to abolish those harmless '*modes of emigration, and of subordination,*' the slave trade and West India slavery. 'This, we are told, is '*a constancy worthy even of the second hero of Milton's Epos.*'

The moral taste of the public has perhaps already been sufficiently nauseated with the false pathos of writers, who would press the heart into a service hostile to morality; but the most licentious German dramatists, and the most tawdry novelists of the French or English school, may be pardoned for their disgusting affectation, when advocates for the African slave trade begin to use the pathetic. Mr Heron, however, is a most impassioned admirer

admirer of this amiable commerce. He is 'irresistibly moved' to arraign the conduct of Mr Wilberforce; and being unable adequately to express his humane and righteous emotions in his own glowing prose, he borrows the language of a poet, and exclaims,

'Fear, pity, justice, indignation, start;  
Tear off reserve, and bare my swelling heart.'

The circumstances which induce us to take any notice of this unhappy tract, are twofold. In the first place, we wish to remark how strange it is that the West India body should employ such advocates, and 'enrich by their communications,' as we find they have done, such a work as the present. It is very agreeable, indeed, to reflect that no better author can now be seduced to plead their cause. But can they possibly think that any point is to be gained by such an advocate as Mr Heron? We shall not pretend to give any account of his arguments, or any specimens of a style altogether unique for bombast, and approaching nearer to the manner of *Lieutenant Pistol*, than of any living author. But we must be permitted to ask, whether the slave trade is now meant to be supported on some of the novel grounds here traced out by this confidant of the merchants and planters? He actually maintains, that it is defensible on the soundest principles of political economy. For, he observes, do not emigrations continually go on, shiftings of population, passages of men from one district to another? Do not the cities constantly draw supplies of inhabitants from the country, and the richer from the poorer districts? Nay, is not the same thing observable of the *lower animals*, who are always brought from the poor to the wealthy country, and from the country to the town? He then triumphantly upbraids Mr Wilberforce for his ignorance of these points of political economy; and dares him, now that he is enlightened upon this subject, to whisper a suspicion of the slave trade being either contrary to the order of nature, or to the dictates of sound political wisdom. We cite this argument as a real curiosity, confident that it stands unmatched in the whole history of controversies.

But we have another and a more admissible reason for taking notice of this performance. It gives us an opportunity of congratulating our readers on the great progress which the cause of abolition has made during the last session of Parliament, by the unshaken steadiness of its original supporters, and the powerful assistance of Government. We shall briefly mention the most important particulars in the late proceedings upon this question, consistently with our plan of continuing from time to time the history of this momentous affair.

Soon

Soon after the formation of the present ministry, the Attorney-general with the entire concurrence of the Cabinet, and in his official capacity, brought in an important bill, which passed both Houses of Parliament without any very formidable opposition, and afterwards received the Royal assent. This bill, which is now a public law, prohibits the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the first of January next, and prohibits all subjects of this country, residing either here or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessory to, the supply of foreign countries with slaves, after the first of January. This prohibition, intended to prevent the investment of British capital, or the employment of British vessels and seamen in the foreign slave trade, and thereby to cut off a large portion of that commerce, is carried into effect by various salutary regulations and well-contrived penalties. The ship and cargo of any British trader engaged in the prohibited trade, either from our colonies or from Africa, or from other places to foreign settlements, are to be forfeited, and a further penalty levied of 50*l*. Sterling for each slave. A similar forfeiture is to take place of any vessel employed in supplying foreign ships with slaves on the coast of Africa, and a penalty of 100*l*. Sterling is to be levied from any British subject engaged in furnishing, or indirectly forwarding, such a supply. A clause is also inserted, to which we refer our readers, as exceedingly satisfactory and well meant, sect. VI., for the purpose of preventing British credit or capital from being embarked in the foreign slave trade. Every method by which British subjects, or persons resident in our dominions, may be conceived to aid the slave trade, is anxiously enumerated. Investment of stock,—loan of money,—loan of vessels,—becoming collateral security to such loans, &c. are all declared unlawful, and liable to a forfeiture of double the sums advanced; and all bonds or other securities given for such unlawful loans are declared to be null and void, except in the hands of *bona fide* purchasers. Moreover, all insurances on such prohibited transactions are declared void, and further subjected to a penalty of five hundred pounds Sterling. It is likewise declared to be unlawful to assist in the outfitting of any foreign vessels sailing for Africa, and severe penalties are attached to this offence. All British vessels clearing out for the slave trade, are required to give bond not to engage directly or indirectly in the foreign slave trade. The same requisition must be complied with in the case of slaves exported from one British settlement to another; and all vessels arriving in our colonies are to make declaration at the nearest customhouse, accompanied with evidence from log-books, surgeon's testimony and journal, and testimony of the other



other offices, that no slaves have been landed contrary to the intent of the act. Such are the multiplied regulations by which this wise and virtuous law prevents effectually any British subject from being accessory to the foreign slave trade. But it goes a step farther, and lends its assistance to the order in council, which was passed last session, for preventing the importation of slaves into the colonies conquered by our armies during the present war. That order could, of course, only begin to operate upon the vessels when they came to the conquered settlement. The power of the Crown extended no farther. But this act extends its whole provisions, in the case of the foreign slave trade, to the prevention of the trade for the supply of the conquered colonies, in every stage of its progress; so that the intention of that salutary order is now completely fulfilled, and an effectual stop put, with the few trivial exceptions noticed on a former occasion (No. XIII.), to the whole importation of negroes into the extensive settlements of Dutch Guiana, St Lucia, Tobago, &c.

Nor has the enlightened zeal of ministers stopt here, though, had they done no more for the abolition, they would have proved themselves its firm friends. They soon after brought forward another bill, which has now, with scarcely any resistance, nearly gone through the Parliament, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches. As this wise measure is not yet completely passed into a law, and may of consequence receive further modification in its details, we shall only state that its general object is meant to be attained, by prohibiting any vessel, under severe penalties, from being engaged in the African trade, unless it can prove, before certain public functionaries, that it was formerly employed in the same traffic. We may here remark, that some additional regulations will be necessary, in order to render this well intended measure effectual to the proposed end of preventing a further increase of the British slave trade. For the bill, prohibiting British ships from being employed in the foreign slave trade, will, it is to be hoped, throw out of employment many such vessels; and they will naturally seek for employment in our own slave trade, and thus increase it, in spite of the new bill. This we merely throw out as a hint to those engaged in the framing of this measure; and trust that, next session, a new bill will be taken into consideration to remedy this defect in the principle of the present enactment.

The next measure which the ministry brought forward, with the view of effecting the abolition of the slave trade, was a resolution against that traffic, couched in very decided language. This resolution was moved by Mr Fox in the House of Com-

mons; and, after an animated discussion, the House declared, by a very large majority, that the African slave trade is contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy, and pledged itself to take effectual measures for its abolition, with all practicable expedition. This resolution was then sent up to the Lords, and a conference demanded, 'upon a matter, in which the reputation of the country, for justice, humanity, and sound policy, is deeply interested.' Accordingly, after this conference, the Lords joined in the same resolution, on the motion of Lord Grenville, by a large majority of votes.

The last step taken in this great work, was an address from the Houses of Parliament to the King, 'beseeching him to take such measures, as may appear most effectual for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose.'

During the whole of the debates on the general question, to which these different motions gave rise, the subject was discussed with uncommon temper; and the warm support of Government, as well as the apparent improvement in the feeling of the Upper House, gave universal satisfaction to all the friends of the cause. Some singular arguments were indeed used in its favour, by eminent persons not formerly propitious to the abolition—arguments by which we hope no one will ever be influenced to vote for any innovation in our commercial economy. It was said, that the foreign slave trade, carried on by our merchants, should be stopt, not because it is just, humane, and politic to diminish, by every possible means, that abominable traffic, but because it was said to be an 'undoubted principle in political economy,' to prevent foreign nations from cultivating, and your own traders from supplying them with 'your staple articles.' So the slave trade is a favourite with some persons for its own sake. It is to be cherished like the woollen trade. It is to be made an object of national prejudice and legislative protection. Then it is to be protected by restrictive laws preventing its extension, as you would protect the growth of corn by prohibiting its exportation. Such were the grievous blunders of those distinguished persons, upon what they termed, with the familiarity of old acquaintance, 'the known principles of political science;' and so curiously did they contrive to defend the restriction of the slave trade, upon the only ground on which it is absolutely indefensible; for if you call that traffic a *staple*, and a good in itself, surely every principle of political science is at war with all attempts at stunting its growth from jealousy of rivals. But it seems to be the fate of the best measures, never to attract the esteem of some men, unless they can be supported upon bad principles:

principles; and you go far to bring them over to your side, if you permit them to fight for you with unlawful weapons.

While we freely censure such narrow views as those just now alluded to, it is a matter of real satisfaction to us to see the opposite arguments of the abolitionists so cordially supported by the whole of his Majesty's ministers. The whole of their conduct in this momentous business has been pure, steady, and zealous. They have proposed the wisest plans for attaining the most virtuous and salutary object which a great nation ever struggled to accomplish; and they have defended their schemes by the most fair and liberal arguments, combining, in all their discussions, a thorough knowledge of the question before them, with an extensive appeal to the best principles of political science, and a sensibility to the great doctrines of public justice. They have reaped the reward of their enlightened exertions. While the general resolutions which they have carried give a solemn pledge to the world of a total abolition of the traffic next session of Parliament, the legislative measures already adopted have checked the growth of the evil at home, and greatly diminished its magnitude abroad. The 38,000 slaves exported annually from Africa in British vessels, are only in a small proportion destined for the use of our own colonies—above 22,000 are stated, by the friends of the trade, to be intended for the foreign settlements. To this must be added a large number of slaves carried by British vessels under cover of the neutral flags. From certain documents which we have had an opportunity of consulting, we cannot estimate these at less than 8000; and the supply of the conquered colonies considerably exceeds 10,000 annually; so that, in the course of one session of Parliament, a slave trade *has been abolished*, which used to carry over yearly above forty thousand innocent and miserable persons, from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the voyage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedness in the West Indian plantations; and a stop has been put to all the murders, torture and plunder, which were daily and hourly desolating the continent of Africa, for the supply of so enormous a consumption of human flesh.

For so great a blessing, humanity itself—the name of man all over the world, rescued from such a stain,—is deeply indebted to the exertions of the British Parliament. Nor let us, the while, forget our obligations to those private individuals who first brought the evil to light, and ceased not, until they had pursued it to judgment. Most of all, let our gratitude be testified to that man, who has begun and led this glorious struggle—who has devoted to its success all his days, and all his talents—who has retired from all recompense for his labours, save the satisfaction of doing good to his fellow-creatures, who, giving

up to mankind what others have sacrificed to party, has preferred the glory of living in the recollection of a grateful world, to the shining rewards of a limited ambition. Had he failed as entirely as he is now likely to succeed in the great object of his exertions, his name would have equally merited a place among the benefactors of our species. But men will always judge by the event; and we now rejoice to contemplate this distinguished person, standing, as it were, on the brink of his final triumph, in the greatest battle ever fought by human beings, and an object, we really think, of just envy to the most ambitious of mortals.

ART. X. *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting.* By Charles Bell. 4to. pp. 186. Longman & Co. London, 1806.

THIS we think is a very elegant and interesting publication; and though the want of engravings will prevent us from giving our readers a complete conception of its contents, we think they will be gratified by a pretty full account of its leading doctrines.

Ever since we recollect any thing, we have been moved by the lamentations of young artists, complaining of the want of some book, which might teach them the elements and the uses of anatomy. The difficulty was to find a skilful anatomist, who understood and sympathized with their wants and distresses, and who could not only detect the errors into which they were led by their ignorance, but could accommodate his instructions to their taste and capacity, and render his lessons at once intelligible and attractive. Hitherto they have not been favoured, at least in this country, with such an instructor; and the poor painter has been obliged, either to persuade himself that there was no use in anatomy, or to make a desperate attempt to acquire a knowledge of it from catalogues of hideous names, and dry tabular plans of bones and blood-vessels; relieved, occasionally, with surgical and nosological observations, and remarks upon every thing but the application of this learning to his profession.\*

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\* We do not think that the accuracy of this general statement will be much affected, by referring to any of the publications which have hitherto been given to the world under similar titles with the work now before us. The famous work of Le Brun has been abandoned as worse than

Mr Bell has not proposed, in the work before us, to remedy the whole of these evils : what he has now executed is but a prelude, we hope, to a more extensive and systematic production, in which, on the one hand, the operation of the mind on the body, will be fully and minutely investigated, and on the other, the whole anatomical knowledge which is requisite for the artist, will be delivered in a style as perspicuous and engaging as that of the specimens which are here offered to the public. In the present volume of *Essays*, it seems rather to have been the author's design to point out the infinite importance of anatomical study to the painter, and to shew to what a variety of pleasing and important discoveries it will insensibly conduct him. In the execution of this task, he has not only given new proofs of his intimate acquaintance with his professional science, but has indicated a taste and a feeling, for the excellences both of sculpture and of painting, that is not always to be met with in a regularly bred artist ; and entered, at the same time, into all the difficulties and perplexities of the student, with a zeal and a sympathy which cannot fail to be very gratifying. He has found occasion, too, to scatter over his work many traits of a delicate moral sensibility ; and not only to embellish it with classical allusions, but to give it dignity and authority, by appealing to the lessons of a philosophy, which is not often resorted to by the votaries of such studies.

With all these merits, the work has considerable defects. It is not perfectly well written ; there is something cumbrous and overloaded in the diction ; and occasional passages of false eloquence. The arrangement is not always happy ; and in treating

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than useless, by every student who had been led to resort to it. His view of the anatomy is by no means scientific or precise ; and many of his sketches of the passions are inaccurate in this very particular. There is a work published by Dr. Brisbane, in 1769, under the name of the *Anatomy of Painting* ; but it contains little more than the six tables of Albinus, with a confession of the author's ignorance of the art of design, and a wish that some person, qualified for the task, would undertake the work he announces. His book contains no separate plate of the muscles of the face, nor any one remark on their action. A kind of abstract of the lectures of Professor Camper upon this subject, has been lately translated from the Dutch by Dr. Cogan. The greater part of this work, however, is occupied with his peculiar theory as to the direction of the facial line ; there is no intelligible view of the muscles of the face ; and his representations of the several passions are so coarsely and inaccurately drawn, that it is absolutely impossible for the artist to derive the least assistance from them.

ing of the more abstract and disputable parts of the subject, it appeared to us that there was a want of simplicity and perspicuity in the statements. The author seems to have felt this himself in some places; and to remedy it, he has fallen into a worse error—that of repetition, and detached recapitulation. Most of these faults, however, appear to arise from inexperience in writing on subjects of general speculation; and as they are not accompanied with the slightest appearance of conceit or presumption, they give but little offence to the reader, and will probably be easily corrected.

The introductory Essay, after shortly explaining the extent of the subject which the author proposes to illustrate, treats at some length of the errors into which artists are apt to be betrayed, both by the study of the antique, and by that of the academy figure, and of the salutary corrective which anatomical knowledge has provided for these errors.

By anatomy, he observes, as applied to the arts of design, I understand, not merely the study of the human muscles and organs of motion,—

‘ I consider it as including a knowledge of all the peculiarities and characteristic differences which mark and distinguish the countenance, and the general appearance of the body, in situations interesting to the painter or statuary. The characters of infancy, youth, or age; the peculiarities of sickness or of robust health; the contrast of manly and muscular strength, with feminine delicacy; the appearances of diseases, of pain, or of death; the general condition of the body, in short, as marking to the eye of the beholder interesting situations:—All these form as necessary a part of the anatomy of painting, as the tracing of the muscles of expression in their unexerted state, and of the changes induced upon them as emotions arise in the mind.’ p. 2.

With regard to the danger of an indiscriminate imitation of the antique, he observes, that almost all we know of it is preserved in *sculpture*; and that much of that sculpture is employed in embodying personifications of *deities*, and supernatural beings; from both which circumstances, it may become a source of error to the student of painting. He observes, with great truth, that the ancient sculptors appear to have considered a certain grave simplicity, and sedate tranquillity, as necessary to the grandeur and effect of their finer compositions; an air of stillness and repose, accordingly, is the grand characteristic of ancient sculpture; and even in the expression of passion, they seem to have found it necessary, in order to preserve the beauty and dignity of their works, to avoid that minute and sharp representation of the features, and those convulsions and distortions of the muscles that are strictly natural. The painter, however, it is obvious, is bound down by no such limitations.

‘ It is very true, that the painter may often be allowed to preserve much of the same gravity of style with the statuary; that such compositions will possess a certain augustness; and that some subjects even require this; while many admit of it, provided the tone and principle of composition be well preserved, and the painting characterized by a low and sombre colouring. In general, however, this is neither necessary, nor perhaps natural, to the style of composition in painting. A stronger expression, a closer imitation of natural character may be adopted; and at least it may be laid down, that, where there is bold light, and vivid colouring, there should be strong and natural character, bold and characteristic drawing. A painting, with high finishing, and bright colouring, demands minute expression, because the same circumstances which display the natural colouring, are necessarily accompanied by a minute disclosure of the parts, and a sharpness of natural expression in the features.’ p. 6. 7.

From these considerations, it is apparent, that the imitation of the antique is apt to seduce the student into many fundamental errors, even if he should look for his models among the representations of human subjects. But the finest, and most admired productions of antiquity, are the statues of its gods; and in these there is another source of deception.

‘ The ancient artist,’ as Mr Bell observes, ‘ studied to bestow the character of divinity, by giving repose to the limbs without any indication of muscles or veins, and by exhibiting a face full of the mild serenity of a being superior to the passions of mankind, as shadowing out a state of existence in which the will possesses the most perfect freedom and activity without the exertion of the bodily frame. But those ideal forms are scarcely ever to be transferred to the representation of the human body; and a modern artist who indiscriminately follows such a model, misapplies the noblest lessons of his art.’ p. 4.

In illustration of this remark, we might observe, that the famous Le Brun, in his pictures of the battles of Alexander, first represented that conqueror with the head of Minerva, which he found upon some of his coins, and afterwards, when the mistake was pointed out to him by some of his classical friends, corrected it, by substituting the head of the young Hercules, which appeared upon another series of medals.

To the study of the academy figure, Mr Bell has objections nearly as decisive. In the first place, he observes, it can give no assistance in the delineation of the countenance. In the second place, it cannot afford the means of seizing those momentary and characteristic exertions of muscular power which accompany sudden exertion, and must so often form the subject of the painter’s imitation. In the third place, as the figure is screwed up into a particular position, and supported in it by ropes, his limbs never display the same action of muscles which takes place in the  
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case, of voluntary exertion;—the muscles, too, are intentionally protruded where the student is to copy; but the rest of the frame is still and lifeless. From copying such figures, Mr Bell observes, a young artist ‘is apt to produce an appearance like spasm or cramp in the limbs, one part being in action, while the rest is loose and relaxed.’ On other occasions, though the proportions are exact, ‘the figures stand in attitudes when they were meant to be in action, and communicate to the spectator no idea of exertion or of motion.’

The true corrective for all these faults, is the study of anatomy; which, by teaching the painter the course and workings of the muscles, as well as the sympathy of their action in different parts of the body, enables him, without the help of a model, to represent, with truth and effect, all the exertions or emotions which he may wish to delineate. Even in copying from a model, this knowledge is of the utmost importance;—it gives the painter a spirit of minute observation, and forces him to attend to those slight but important indications which are apt to be overlooked by one who is ignorant of the causes from which they proceed. ‘I have often,’ says Mr Bell, ‘had occasion to observe the perplexity of a young artist in representing the course of a swelling muscle;—the little depressions and convexities about a joint, or the knobbed end of a bone obscurely perceived through the superficial integuments. These appear to him but unmeaning varieties in the outline;—he makes swellings merely;—and in transcribing a language which he does not understand, is guilty of a thousand errors and inaccuracies.’ The Essay concludes with several illustrations of the same general position.

The *second* Essay treats of the skull and form of the head, chiefly as indicating the different periods of life; and includes a long dissertation upon the peculiarities of the antique or ideal head as contrasted with that which is natural.

The peculiarities of the infantine, mature, and aged head, are represented and accounted for in the clearest and most satisfactory manner, and illustrated by a variety of beautiful sketches. Piammingo, who was much celebrated for his models of children, is shown to be quite out of nature, in accumulating the mass of the head towards the top, instead of enlarging it in breadth backwards.

With regard to the peculiar form of the antique head, Mr Bell is of opinion, that it was adopted with a view to magnify and exaggerate all those features and proportions which are peculiar to the human countenance, and remove it farthest from any resemblance to the lower animals. There is a good deal of su-



perfluous writing in this part of the work; though we are rather inclined to think that the author has made out his point. It is a fact, we believe, which admits of no dispute, that the antique is precisely the reverse of the brutal physiognomy. Assuming the ordinary or natural form of the human head as a centre, it will be found that, by altering its lines and proportions in one direction, it will approach to the character of a beast; and that, by altering them in the opposite direction, it will assume the character of the antique. After making a variety of acute and ingenious remarks upon the theories of Winkelman, Camper, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Bell concludes,

‘ I have endeavoured to place the subject in another view, and to shew that the noble and imposing form of the antique resulted from a deep and more extensive survey of nature. I conceive the artists of antiquity to have studied the deformities, as well as the beauties, of the human countenance; and, observing the prevailing lines of a low and disagreeable countenance, to have traced this effect to an association with a lower species, and hence to have deduced their principle of ennobling the form of the head, by increasing those peculiarities of character, the indication of intellect, and the powers of expression, which distinguish the human form, and by carefully reversing those proportions which produce a resemblance to the physiognomy of brutes. While we seek to discover the superiority of the antique form in the direction of the lines, the elevation of the facial line, or even in the proportions of the several parts, without examining the cause of our ready acquiescence in that as beautiful, which yet is not natural, or without tracing the association which affects our judgment, the result of the inquiry must be vague and unsatisfactory, while the principle which influenced the ancients is not established.’ p. 44, 45.

Essay *third* is employed upon the muscles of the face in man, and in the lower animals. It contains very beautiful engravings of these muscles, with concise and clear explanations, and some excellent observations upon the capricious mixture of brutal and human expression, which some great painters have admitted into their representations of animals.

The *fourth* Essay is more interesting to the general reader. It treats of the expression of passion as illustrated by a comparison of the muscles of the face in man, and in the lower animals; and contains a great number of original remarks on the peculiarities of the brutal and the human physiognomy.

‘ The violent passions,’ Mr Bell observes, ‘ mark themselves so distinctly on the countenance, both of man, and of animals, that we are apt, in the first instance, to consider the movements by which they are indicated, as certain signs or characters provided by nature for the express purpose of intimating the internal emotion; and to suppose that they are interpreted by the observer in consequence of a peculiar and instinctive

instinctive faculty. This view of things, however, so natural at first sight, is not altogether satisfactory to philosophy; and a more jealous observation of the facts seems to suggest an opposite theory, in which instinctive agency is rejected, and the appearances are explained from a consideration of the necessities and voluntary exertions of the animal. With regard to the observer, it has been asserted, that it is by experience alone that he distinguishes the signs of the passions; that we learn, while infants, to consider smiles as expressions of kindness, because they are accompanied by acts of beneficence, and by endearments,—and frowns as the contrary, because we find them followed by blows; that the expression of anger in a brute is only that which has been observed to precede his biting, and that of fondness, his fawning and licking of the hand. With regard to the creature itself, it is said, what have been called the external signs of passion, are merely the concomitants of those voluntary movements, which the passion or habits suggest; that the glare of the lion's eye, for example, is the consequence of a voluntary exertion to see his prey more clearly—his grin or snarl, the natural motion of uncasing his fangs before he uses them,' &c. p. 84, 85.

In the course of the subsequent investigation, Mr Bell finds reason to conclude, that the whole expression in the countenances of brutes is derived from those actions of the muscles which are necessary to the performance of their animal functions; but that there are, in the human face, a variety of peculiar muscles, which serve no other purpose than to express intellectual or social emotions, and are to be considered, therefore, as the index or alphabet of human sentiment.

The chief expression in the lower animals is that of rage. The carnivorous animals express this, by uncovering the fang teeth with which they are about to seize their prey, and opening the eyelid strongly, by which the coats of the eye are stretched, and a certain brightness or glare excited in it. Those appearances, therefore, do not originally express any passion of the mind; they merely indicate an approaching action; they are parallel to the unsheathing of a sword, or the cocking of a pistol. The graminivorous animals do not seize their food with the side teeth; they crop it with the front ones. They are unprovided, therefore, with the muscles which uncase the fangs of the lion or tyger; and as the act of biting the grass indicates nothing like rage or ferocity, we have associated no expression of this kind with the movement by which they uncover the fore teeth. Their only indication of rage is in the position of their organs of attack—in the inclined head, and oblique horns of the bull, or the eye and the ear of the horse reverted towards the heels with which he is preparing to strike.

Man has both these sets of muscles; and he has a variety of others that are peculiar to himself, and seem to answer no purpose but as organs of human expression.\* These are chiefly the *corrugator supercilii*, or that which knits the eye-brows, and the *triangularis oris*, which, in combination with some other muscles about the mouth, produces that arching of the lip which is so expressive of contempt, hatred, jealousy, and all the unsocial passions.

‘The expression of human rage,’ says Mr Bell, ‘partakes of that of the two classes of animals; the corresponding muscles of the lips and nostrils, producing a similar action with that of animals; an exposure and gnashing of the teeth; a degree of sparkling of the eye, and an inflation of the nostril. And of a face under the influence of such action, a spectator would infallibly say that the aspect is perfectly brutal, savage, and cruel. But when the *Corrugator Supercilii*, a muscle peculiar to human expression, is brought into action, the sign is altered. The eye-brows are knit, the energy of mind is apparent, and the mingling of human thought and emotion with the savage and brutal rage of the mere animal.’ p 97.

Laughter he thinks peculiar to man, as well as the expressions of hope, admiration, despair, and many other emotions. In the conclusion of the Essay, he observes, that though the form of the animal head be often very beautiful in itself, it never fails to produce a disgusting effect, when engrained in any degree on the human countenance. Whenever the imagination catches an idea of brutal character, the whole dignity and beauty of the head is instantaneously destroyed. The chief ingredient in human beauty, he thinks, is the visible capacity for expression: of which he says,

‘This capacity of expression, this indication of a mind susceptible of great, or of tender emotions, has a great share in human beauty; whether in the living countenance or in that which the pencil presents. How different the tame regularity of a merely placid countenance, from what strikes the spectator when he beholds the indications of a great mind in that susceptibility of emotion and energy, which marks the brow, and animates the eye of the hero even in the calmest scenes of life! How fascinating when compared with the insipid prettiness and regular features of an inanimate beauty is that susceptibility which lightens up the countenance and plays upon the features of a woman of sensibility, even while she is unmoved by any particular affection! The full clear eye; the arched and moveable eyebrow; the smooth and polished forehead; as indicating this kind of capacity, this susceptibility of emotion, and power of expression, are grand features of human character and beauty. And the perfection of their beauty is found whenever the spectator is made sensible of this inherent, this latent power of expression, while no prevailing passion gives a cast to the features.’

The next Essay is the most important and interesting of the whole book. It treats, in detail, of the visible signs of grief, pain, weeping, anguish, death, discontent, suspicion, rage, remorse, jealousy, wonder, fear, horror, and despair. Most of these are illustrated by striking and original sketches, and accompanied by precise and lively descriptions, affording the most convincing proofs of the author's nice and assiduous observation.

The Essay is prefaced by a general speculation, which we do not consider as of great value, tending to shew, that in all the pleasurable emotions there is a degree of languor and relaxation, and that pain and suffering are accompanied by tension and excitement. The following paragraph is all we can afford to insert of it.

‘ On the other hand, as pleasure is characterized by languor, soft tranquillity, and relaxation from bodily exertion, all the emotions related to it, or deducible from pleasurable sensations, are characterized by the prevailing state of the system, by a degree of inaction, and, as it were, forgetfulness of bodily exertion, and an indulgence in mental contemplation. The contemplation of beauty, or the admiration of soft music, produces a sense of languor; the body reclines, the lips are half opened, the eyes have a softened lustre from the falling of the eyelids; the breathing is slow, and, from the absolute neglect of bodily sensation, and the temporary interruption of respiration, there is a frequent low drawn sigh.’ p. 109.

In his descriptions of the different emotions which the painter may have to represent, Mr Bell, as we formerly observed, shows himself not only to have attended to the visible signs of the passion with the keen eye of an artist, but also to have traced its inward workings with the sagacity and zeal of a philosopher.

‘ In sorrow,’ he says, ‘ that general languor which we have now described pervades the whole countenance. The violence and tension of grief, the agitations, the restlessness, the lamentations, and the tumult, have, like all strong emotions, gradually exhausted the frame. Sadness and regret, with depression of spirits and fond recollections, have succeeded; and lassitude of the whole body, with dejection of face and heaviness of the eyes, are the most striking characteristics. The lips are relaxed and the lower jaw drops; the upper eyelid falls down and half covers the pupil of the eye. The eye is frequently filled with tears, and the eyebrows take an inclination similar to that which the depression of the angles of the lips give to the mouth.’ p. 114.

After a very fine sketch and description of despair, rage, and bodily pain, in the case of a mortal wound, he observes—

‘ If a man be shot, there will be no such ferocious expression. There is here often a strange and inexplicable nervous effect, a trembling and sinking of the body, with faintness and oppression; the face and body cold, pale, and livid. In a mortal gunshot wound, the character of

the hero is lost ; it yields to the universal law : yet the feebleness of the palpitating breast, and the bewildered eye in the death of a great man, strike us, in certain circumstances, more forcibly perhaps than if we saw him in all his glory.' p. 120.

The following remarks on the representation of death, are strong and impressive.

' When the eyelids, lips, and nose are livid, death is fast approaching : but often, before the last scene, the wasted form will rise with an anxious, delirious look, before finally falling into the embrace of death. In death, the eyes are dull and sunk ; the features sharp ; the nose pointed ; the nostril somewhat contracted ; the surface cold and pale, and leaden coloured. The painter must hold in recollection the difference between a dead body which he may have seen on the table of the anatomist, and the dead in battle. It may be sometimes necessary to give the rigidity of death to the figure, but more frequently either the convulsive tension of expiring life, or the relaxation of death ; as Homer describes his heroes, rolling in death, with limbs relaxed and nerveless. It appears to me that the painter is too apt to take his ideas of death from the stage. But it is scarcely possible that from such a source he can derive the materials of a natural, simple, or terrific representation.

We not unfrequently see a young creature in death, as if asleep, with the beauty of countenance unobscured by convulsion : the form alone remains ; the animation is gone, and no colour beautifies the cheek.

" E, quasi un ciel notturno, anco sereno

Senza splendor la faccia scolorita."

There is often, however, a gloom upon the countenance ; the eyebrow hangs low ; the eye is sunk and the orbit distinct ; the nose is compressed, and the lines of it sharp. The compression of the nose is occasioned by the falling in of the nostril ; the lower jaw falls, and the cheek is hollow. When the dead are dressed by the undertaker for burial, and the jaw bound up, there is still something very peculiar in the appearance of the mouth. There is no breath betwixt the lips and teeth ; and the relaxed lips being forced together, there is an unnatural fulness round the mouth, while the lips themselves fall in.' p. 123, 124.

The account of laughter and of weeping is excellent. After a spirited sketch of rage, we have this description.

' In rage, the features are unsteady, the eyeballs are seen largely ; they roll and are inflated. The front is alternately knit and raised in furrows by the motion of the eyebrows ; the nostrils are inflated to the utmost ; the lips are swelled, and, being drawn, open the corners of the mouth.

' The action of the muscles is strongly marked. The whole visage is sometimes pale, sometimes inflated, dark, and almost livid ; the words are delivered strongly through the fixed teeth ; " the hair is fixed on  
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end like one distracted, and every joint should seem to curse and ban." p. 139. 140.

The author seems to have paid particular attention to the symptoms and visible characters of Fear. We have room only for its simplest modification.

'In man, the expression of mere bodily fear is, like that of animals, without dignity; it is the mean anticipation of pain. The eye-ball is largely uncovered; the eyes staring; the eyebrows elevated to the utmost stretch. There is a spasmodic affection of the diaphragm and muscles of the chest, affecting the breathing, producing a gasping in the throat, with an inflation of the nostril, convulsive opening of the mouth, and dropping of the jaw; the lips nearly concealing the teeth, yet allowing the tongue to be seen, the space between the nostril and lip being full. There is a hollowiness and convulsive trembling in the cheek, and lips, and muscles, on the side of the neck. The whole animal functions are affected, and that nerve which is called the Sympathetic seems the master spring. The lungs are kept distended, while the breathing is short and rapid; and, from the connexion of the nerves of the lungs and midriff with those of the side of the neck, and with the branches which supply the cutaneous muscle of the cheek and neck, we may comprehend the cause of the convulsive motion of this muscle. The aspect is pale and cadaverous from the receding of the blood. The hair is lifted up by the creeping of the skin.' p. 145.

The last passion, of which we shall extract the description, is Despair.

'Despair is a mingled emotion. While terror is in some measure the balancing and distraction of a mind occupied with a possibility of danger, despair is the total wreck of hope, the terrible assurance of ruin having closed around beyond all power of escape. The expression of despair must vary with the nature of the distress of which it forms the acmé. In certain circumstances, it will assume a bewildered distracted air, as if madness were likely to afford the only relief from mental agony. Sometimes there is at once a wildness in the looks and total relaxation, as if falling into insensibility; or there is upon the countenance of the desperate man a horrid gloom; the eye is fixed, yet he neither sees nor hears aught, nor is sensible of what surrounds him; the features are shrunk, and pale, and livid; and convulsion and tremors affect the muscles of the face. But, in all pictures of despair, an inconsolable and total abandonment of those exertions to which hope inspires and excites a man, forms an essential feature.' p. 149.

The essay closes with some very judicious and original remarks on the external character of madness. Painters seem in general to have borrowed their ideas of insanity from the stage, where it commonly appears merely as an excess of emotion. Mr Bell observes—

'The theory upon which we are to proceed in attempting to convey this peculiar expression of severity amidst the utter wreck of the intellect,

tellest, I conceive to be this, that the expression of mental energy should be avoided, and consequently all exertion of those muscles which are peculiarly indicative of sentiment. This I conceive indeed to be true to nature, but I am more certain that it is correct in the theory of painting. I conceive it to be consistent with nature, because I have observed (contrary to my expectation) that there was not that energy, that knitting of the brows, that indignant brooding and thoughtfulness in the face of madmen which is generally imagined to characterize their expression, and which we almost uniformly find given to them in painting. There is a vacancy in their laugh, and a want of meaning in their ferociousness.' p. 155.

The concluding Essay is of a miscellaneous nature. It is entitled, 'Of the economy of the living body, as it relates to expression in painting;' and it contains a variety of hints and observations deserving of particular attention.

After a very luminous description of the vascular system in general, he observes—

'Of the veins, the painter should remark, that in young people they do not appear prominent or torpid, being restrained by the elasticity of the skin: neither are they prominent in women, but appear merely as faint blue lines in the transparent skin. I know not whether the veins of women ought on any occasion to be delineated; but, in natural colouring, their effect is a faint tinge of blue, which gives a delicacy to the white, and mingles with the prevailing carnation.' p. 163.

The effects of exercise, position, and old age, or the character of the veins, is then very fully explained. He afterwards proceeds to the skin.

'The skin itself deserves the attention of the artist, for it considerably affects the character of the parts which it covers; the veins, the bones, and the muscles. In a robust healthy child, no veins are to be seen; and, for the same reason, the points of bone, and the distinction of muscle and tendon, are not perceived. In a child, though the surface is smooth and delicate, yet (as anatomists would speak) the integuments are thick and strong; the fat lies chiefly on the surface, and above those parts which in more mature age appear prominent, and mark the character. The consequence of this is apparent in the general form of children. They have their appropriate form and beauty; but, in reference to the more perfect state of middle life, they are unformed; the head, joints, and limbs, and even the hands and feet, being round and unshapely. Such is the appearance of children at the age at which they are commonly drawn and modelled: when it seems just doubtful whether they might not be more secure on a broader base than their feet. Women, like children, have the skin smooth, but the limbs round, polished, and pyramidal. This proceeds from the muscles being less powerful, and the bones less prominent than in man, and from the fat being in great proportion, and filling up all inequalities. Time makes its assault on this fair proportion, first by overloading and taking the symmetry

symmetry from the limbs, and, finally, by diminishing the fat, so that the skin closes nearer to the bones.' p. 166, 167.

These observations are followed by some curious remarks on the action and properties of the muscles, and the general expression of weight or agility in the person.

'The ideal form of Hercules is the personification of the highest degree of power, with every possible or consistent mark of activity. The form of Hercules is not directly taken from natural appearance, but as if by inference and upon theory. The head and limbs are small; the neck, trunk, and shoulders, preternaturally large and strong; the muscles moving the limbs are powerful; the parts moved light. But the idea of power is not more impressed upon us by the general form, than by the appearance of the individual muscles. They have a sharpness and prominence which could be acquired only by exercise and continual exertion.' p. 175, 176.

'The approach of old age gives another distinction of muscular exertion. In the Laocoon, for example, we have a muscular figure, and much anatomical expression; but it is the powerful exertion of a man advanced in life, whose functions as a priest give no presumption of the acquisition of great bodily power. It bears no relation to either of the characteristic forms of human strength' p. 176.

The author afterwards discourses at some length on grace of attitude and posture; and concludes with some remarks on the natural posture of sleep.

'In sleep,' he observes, 'there is, perhaps, an appropriate attitude; but every limb is at rest; and such an attitude as indicates entire repose and relaxation is the natural characteristic of sleep. When a fine lady throws herself upon the sofa in elegant relaxation, she can preserve, while awake, the grace of her attitude; but when sleep actually visits her, the wrist falls loose, the arms gravitate into an easy half-bended position, the legs are drawn up, and nature overcomes affectation. The cause is this: when the limbs are stretched, the extending muscles are in contraction, and the bending muscles drawn out; it is not therefore a position of ease and perfect relaxation. If intention, or habit, does not prevent the natural equipoise of muscular contraction, the joints will in sleep be relaxed, and the limbs nearly half bent.' p. 183, 184.

The work closes with pointing out the distinctions between the position of sleep and of death.

We cannot take our leave of this interesting volume, without saying a word or two on the sketches by which it is illustrated. Their conception and execution, we think, do great credit to the talents and taste of the author,—they are, for the most part, extremely striking and expressive, without any thing of commonplace or caricature. They are evidently original drawings, and not mere parodies of Le Brun's personifications of the passions. At the same time, we are disposed to make this objection to them,



them, as illustrations of a didactic treatise, that they do not exhibit the muscular affections of the countenance in an abstract and naked form, but in combination with a number of concomitant circumstances that contribute, we cannot tell how much, to the general effect of the drawing. When the question is as to the effect of particular muscles in expressing certain emotions, it appears to us, that the action of those muscles should be represented as much as possible in a simple and separate state, and that no aid should be borrowed from the introduction of circumstances or objects which are of themselves sufficient to indicate the emotion in question. Upon this principle we object to the chain and fetters of the madman, the sword in the wound of the man dying in agony, the dagger in the uplifted hand of rage, and the erect hair and projected hands of terror and amazement. These circumstances are so clearly associated with the several passions or situations to be represented, that they are almost sufficient to suggest the idea of it alone, and render it, at any rate, impossible to say how far we might have been able to interpret the muscular expression, if it had been presented to us without this commentary. Mr Bell will do more justice to his pupils, and subject his observations to a more decisive test, if he will abstain in future from such prepossessing embellishments.

ART. XI. *Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Firme, dans l'Amerique Meridionale, fait pendant les Années 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804.* Par F. Depons, Ex-agent du Gouvernement Français à Caracas. En 3 tomes. 8vo. à Paris. 1806.

THAT part of South America which lies between the mouths of the Orinoco and Cape de la Vela, is little known in Europe, except to the Spaniards. Though the first part of the continent discovered by Columbus; though the spot selected by Las Casas for the trial of his scheme to civilize the Indians; though the region of the once celebrated but now forgotten *El Dorado*; and though a country eminently fruitful, and infinitely more salubrious than any of the neighbouring districts, and recently become the seat of an extensive and increasing commerce, we should search in vain for any adequate history or account of it in our books of geography or statistics. Destitute of the precious metals, it was abandoned to neglect by the Court of Spain, after having been made a theatre of the most horrid and sanguinary devastations by its agents; and, for more than a century and a half, its interior was explored by none but missionaries, and  
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its coasts frequented only by smugglers. During the last century, when it attracted again the attention of the mother country, it seems to have been visited by no Spaniard whose curiosity led him to inquire into its natural resources and productions, and certainly by none who has been permitted to communicate the result of his inquiries to the public. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that we congratulate our readers on the appearance of the volumes before us, in which they will find very ample details on these subjects, accompanied by much curious information on the internal state and government of the Spanish colonies in America. Such a work has an additional value to an Englishman, since the acquisition of Trinidad has opened to us a communication with this fertile and delightful country; and, at the present moment, it possesses an accidental and temporary interest in consequence of the expedition of Miranda, who has chosen this part of the American continent for the scene of his adventurous enterprize.

M. Depons, the author of these volumes, appears to have been a planter in the French part of St Domingo, driven from that island by the revolt of the negroes, and forced to seek for refuge in the Spanish colonies, in which he had resided for eight years before his arrival in the captain-generalship of Caracas in 1801. Having soon after that period formed the plan of the work before us, he communicated his purpose to General Leclerc, when that officer arrived at St Domingo to subdue the island, and reduce it again under its former masters. Leclerc, he informs us, was pleased to patronize his undertaking, and to advance him a thousand dollars out of the public funds of the army to assist him in carrying it into effect. He continued to reside in the Caracas till May 1804; and the work which he has now published will show, that his time there was not unprofitably employed, and that the favour and protection of his government were not thrown away upon him.

M. Depons divides his work into eleven chapters, in which he treats of—the discovery and conquest of the country,—its mountains, rivers, lakes, harbours, and natural productions,—its population, the manners and customs of its inhabitants,—its Indian population,—the character and present state of the Indians,—its civil and military government,—its religious establishment,—its agriculture, commerce, and finances,—its principal towns;—and, lastly, he gives an account of Spanish Guiana, and of the course and navigation of the Orinoco. We shall follow him in the order in which he has considered these subjects, extracting whatever appears to us most new or valuable in his observations,

*Discovery and conquest of the eastern part of Terra-Firma.* None of the conquests made by the discoverers of the new world was disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Caracas. The Indians who inhabited the country at the arrival of the Spaniards were fierce and savage, and the cruelties of their invaders drove them to despair. They were not united, as in Mexico and Peru, under a single head, but divided into small tribes, who fought separately for their independence. The nature of their country was favourable for defence, being mountainous and difficult of access, and intersected with innumerable rivers, which, for a great part of the year, overflow their banks. The progress of the invaders was therefore slow, and their steps were marked with devastation and blood. But the natives were at length exterminated or reduced to subjection. The prisoners taken in war were hurried to the shore and sold to slave merchants, who hovered over the coast like birds of prey, in expectation of these victims, to replace the sufferers from bigotry and avarice at St Domingo. In no part of the Spanish settlements have the missionaries contributed so little to the reduction of the country as in Caracas.

*Description of the country.* The captain-generalship of Caracas consists of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the isle of Margarita. It extends along the coast from long.  $75^{\circ}$  to long.  $61^{\circ}$  W. from Paris, and from north to south it reaches from lat.  $12^{\circ}$  N. to the equator. It is bounded by the sea, by Dutch, French, and Portuguese Guiana, and by the viceroyalty of New Granada. It may be necessary to remind our readers, that the Spanish settlements in America are divided into four viceroyalties, Mexico, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada; and into five captain generalships, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, Caracas, and Chili. The captain-general is an officer of inferior dignity to the viceroy, but is quite independent of his authority.

The temperature of this country is moderated by a chain of mountains which traverses it from west to east, extending from the lake of Maracaibo to the isle of Trinidad. The highest point of this ridge is near the city of Caracas, having 1278 toises of height; but, in general, it is much less elevated. To the south of these mountains there is an extensive plain, extremely hot, watered by the Orinoco and its tributary streams. The mountains of Caracas are covered with wood fit for shipbuilding and for every other purpose; and they contain some gold mines, though of little value, which were at one time worked, but have been long since abandoned. There is a copper mine in the province of Venezuela, from which a small quantity of excellent copper

copper is annually extracted. It is used by the planters in their sugar-works in preference to iron, on account of its cheapness, being sold at 15 dollars per cwt. A small quantity is also exported at Porto Cabello.

The pearl fishery near the Isle of Margarita, which first attracted the Spaniards to this coast, has been long since abandoned; and it is said that pearls are no longer to be found there.

Bay salt is gathered in great abundance, and of excellent quality, in many places along the coast of Venezuela. Near Araya there is a mine of rock-salt, which might be worked to great advantage, were it not for the royal monopoly, which prevents any one from trading in salt except the King.

The seasons are divided into wet and dry in Caracas, as in other tropical countries. The rainy season begins in May, and ends in December. While it lasts, there is rain for three hours a day, at an average, throughout the country. The rain falls in torrents, fills the ravines, and makes the rivers overflow their banks. Earthquakes are much less common in Caracas than in Peru. When there are long intervals between the thunderstorms, it is observed that earthquakes are more frequent.

The lake of Maracaïbo is 150 leagues in circumference, and communicates with the sea. Its water is fresh, but at times brackish. It abounds in fish; and is navigable for ships of considerable burden. At its north-east corner there is a very copious spring of mineral pitch; and from this a constant exhalation of inflammable vapours, which are phosphorescent during the night, and serve as a beacon to the Indians and Spaniards who navigate the lake. The place is called, on this account, the 'Beacon of Maracaïbo.' The banks of the lake are sterile and unwholesome, so that the Indians prefer living in villages, built on shallows in the midst of the water. When the Spaniards first arrived on this coast, the number of these villages was so great, that they gave to the province the name of *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. Four of them are still preserved, and their inhabitants earn their subsistence by catching fish in the lake, and by hunting for wild ducks, in the manner described by Ulloa. They take care that a number of empty calabashes are continually floating on the lake, that the ducks may be accustomed to them, and without fear at seeing them approach. The hunter then goes into the lake, with a calabash over his head, having holes in it for seeing and breathing. Nothing is seen above the water except the calabash, which appears to be floating on the lake. Thus accoutred, he moves with the greatest stillness towards the ducks, and catching one by the leg, he pulls it suddenly under the water,

before it has time to alarm the rest; and, in this way, he goes on till he has caught as many as he wants.

The rivers which take their rise on the north side of the mountains, are short and rapid in their course, and run directly into the sea. They might be usefully employed for irrigation; and they are well adapted for conveying lumber to the coast. Some of them are navigable to a considerable distance from the sea. The rivers which rise on the south side of the mountains flow through a flat country, which they inundate in the rainy season, and are at last received into the Orinoco.

Porto Cabello is the best harbour upon this coast, or in all America. It is large, safe, and commodious; sheltered from every wind; calm, however much the sea is agitated; deep; and has good anchoring-ground. Guayra, the harbour of Caracas, is the most frequented port on this coast, though it is only a miserable roadstead. In the Gulf of Paria there is good anchorage, from 8 to 30 fathoms deep; and, on the coast of Paria, there are several harbours and roadsteads, by which there is a ready communication with Trinidad. There are many other harbours on the coast of Caracas, but none of any great note.

*Population, Manners, and Customs.* M. Dépons estimates the whole population of Caracas at 728,000 souls, of which he assigns 500,000 to the provinces of Venezuela and Varinas, 100,000 to Maracaibo, 80,000 to Cumana, 34,000 to Spanish Guiana, and 14,000 to the Isle of Margarita. The whites form one fifth of this population, the slaves three tenths, the free people of colour two fifths, and the Indians one tenth.

There are few Europeans in Caracas, except those sent out in the service of the state; including whom, not a hundred Spaniards settle annually in the province. But of those who go to America, very few return to their native country, except the Biscayners and Catalans. The Spaniards are not permitted to visit their American settlements, without a license from the king, which cannot be obtained, unless the object of their journey is known and approved of by the Council of the Indies; and the license granted to them is in general limited to two years residence, leave to settle not being obtained without the greatest difficulty. Even the Creoles, who have gone to Spain for their education, cannot return to their native country without a license. So strict was the government formerly on this subject, that a passport to one province did not authorize the bearer of it to go to another. These severe, but ill executed laws, were dictated in part by political fears and jealousies; but their principal source was in that spirit of monastic regulation; in those maxims of religious bigotry and austerity, which have been so long cultivated with  
such

such mischievous effects in Spain. Instead of considering its colonies as a place of refuge for the idle, the profligate, and the dissipated, where they might learn to amend their lives, and, if possible, forget their errors, the Spanish Court has watched over its foreign settlements with the solicitude of a duenna, and regulated their government as if they were to be inhabited by Carthusians. No Spaniard could get permission to go to America, without a certificate of his moral and religious character, and an attestation that none of his forefathers, for three generations back, had suffered in an *auto da fé*, or carried the infamous *san-benito*. Foreigners of all descriptions, were kept out of these countries with the greatest care; and if tolerated, by the connivance of the viceroys, they were subjected to every inconvenience and oppression. But of late years, so much have these ancient maxims of Spanish policy fallen into disregard, that, by a royal cedula of 1801, foreigners are permitted to settle in the Spanish colonies, for the payment of 8200 reals (about 86l.) to the crown; and, for the same sum, they may be admitted to all the privileges of natural born Spaniards, provided they are of the Catholic persuasion, and not otherwise disqualified by law.

The Creoles are of quick apprehension, and capable of greater application to business or study than their West Indian neighbours; but their education is miserably conducted. They are taught, in their infancy, the miracles and legends of their saints; and made to observe, with the most scrupulous attention, all the minute practices, and observances of their religion. They are then instructed in Latin; and their education is supposed to be finished, when they have acquired a little scholastic learning, and attended the lectures of some professor in theology or law. Their ignorance of all sorts of useful knowledge is extreme, and can only be equalled by their contempt for all useful occupations. The care and improvement of their estates, they esteem an object beneath their notice, and hold all professions in disdain, except the law, the army, and the church. Family pride, of the lowest and most illiberal cast, is one of their ruling passions; and this has been fostered by a preposterous regulation, which, till lately, obtained in all the dominions of Spain, empowering children, as soon as they attained the age of puberty, to compel their parents to consent to their marriage with whom they pleased, provided it was not with a person of inferior birth. This law was abolished in 1803; and the authority of parents over their children, in the article of marriage, extended to twenty-five years of age for males, and to twenty-three for females; but, while it lasted, the objections to which it gave rise, on the ground of *misalliance*, were a continual source of heartburnings and dis-

sensions in the Spanish colonies. Litigiousness is another fault of the Spanish Creoles. M. Depons calculates that lawsuits cost in Caracas 1,200,000 dollars annually; and, in Cuba, in 1792, a population of 254,000 souls found employment for 106 advocates, with a proportional number of attorneys and notaries, while the French part of St Domingo, with a population of 660,000 souls, maintained only 36.

With these shades in their character, the Creoles of Caracas are mild and humane, moderate in their desires, and cautious, even to timidity, in their conduct, and in the management of their affairs. This turn of mind was strongly exemplified some years ago, in the attempt which was then made to excite them to take up arms against the mother country, and to throw off her yoke. This conspiracy had its origin with three state prisoners, who had been sent from Spain to Caracas on account of their revolutionary delinquencies at home. These persons, who were condemned to perpetual banishment and imprisonment, being treated with great indulgence at Caracas, and permitted to have free intercourse with the natives, formed the project of a conspiracy against the government; but, though they engaged several persons of consequence in their party, such was the coldness and apathy of the Creoles, that, after their first converts, they made no progress in gaining proselytes. After the plot had been kept a profound secret for many months, it was disclosed to the government. Some of the ringleaders escaped; others were taken; but no resistance was attempted. It was found that 72 persons had entered into the conspiracy, six of whom were taken and executed; the rest either escaped, or were sent to the galleys, or banished from the colony. M. Depons reprobates this conspiracy with the horror natural to a refugee from St Domingo, and with the philosophy now in credit at St Cloud.

The Spanish Creoles marry in general as soon as they attain the age of puberty. An unmarried man of twenty begins to be looked upon as an old bachelor. It is not unusual to see a married couple, whose united ages do not make thirty. These early marriages are neither productive of happiness, nor conducive to morals. Fidelity to the marriage bed is equally disregarded by both parties. But, if any difference arises, the advantage is on the side of the wife; for she can have her husband reprimanded or imprisoned whenever she chooses to complain of his conduct; and if he should recriminate, she is sure that her story will be listened to in preference to his.

But, in this picture of the character and manners of the Creoles, some allowance must be made for the prejudices of a stranger, and for the dislike of a Frenchman to every thing Spanish. The Spaniards

Spaniards of the New World must be very different from those of the Old, if M. Depons accuses them justly of being cold-hearted, malicious, and dissembling. Because there is much ceremonial in Spanish manners, it does not follow that there is a want of friendship and cordiality in their character. Because there is no petulant gaiety in their parties, it does not follow that they have no conversation, or that they are incapable of deriving any advantage from social intercourse. *Pique-nique* suppers, we have no doubt, are very pleasant at Paris; but we cannot so readily admit that they are essential to human felicity. M. Depons indeed perceives symptoms of amendment, where we see no great cause for exultation. He congratulates the young Spaniards on having laid aside the sword of their ancestors, and taken to round hats, cropped heads, high pantaloons, and short waistcoats. If they would but give up their *siesta*, or afternoon nap, he seems not unwilling to hope that they might yet attain to some degree of civilization.

Religious scruples have prevented the Spaniards from engaging in the African slave trade; but, with a casuistry not unprecedented on that subject, they have reconciled their conscience to the lawfulness of purchasing slaves, when brought to them by other nations; and they have even made treaties, and held out pecuniary inducements, to embark their neighbours in that iniquitous traffic. The slaves of the Spaniards, however, are taught their prayers with the greatest care; and the utmost solicitude is shown to prevent slaves of different sexes from having an illicit commerce together. The young girls are locked up during the night, and watched during the day, from the age of ten till they are married. But these precautions are fruitless; whether it be that they are ill chosen, or that the unrestrained intercourse of the whites with the female slaves defeats their operation. M. Depons complains that the Spaniards neglect to clothe and feed their slaves properly, and that they have no physician to attend them in their illness. He contrasts, with no small complacency, their conduct in these particulars with that of the French colonists of St Domingo. But, from his own statement, it appears that the Spaniards give their slaves land to cultivate for provisions, and allow them leisure for its cultivation; and that, in their dress, houses, and accommodations, the slaves of Caracas are not on a worse footing, when compared with the slaves of St Domingo, than their masters are, when compared with the former planters of that island.

The slaves of the Spaniards possess some advantages which the slaves of no other nation enjoy. If they are ill used by their master, they can compel him to sell them to another person; and



if a slave can amass a sum equal to his purchase-money, he has a right to buy back his freedom. In 1789, the royal authority was interposed, to ameliorate, in some other particulars, the condition of the slaves; but its plans of reform were so absurd and impracticable, that no effect whatever resulted from its interference. In a colony where many of the masters sleep upon skins, and have but one apartment for their whole family, it was seriously ordered, that every slave should have his separate sleeping-room, furnished with a bedstead, mattress, coverlet and curtains. Police officers were appointed to determine the quota of labour that should be exacted from every slave. The male and female slaves were to be kept in separate gangs, and not allowed to have any communication, even on days of festivity. Such regulations, as M. Depons justly remarks, were better calculated to form a society of monks, than to supply the wants, or accelerate the growth, of a rising colony.

The free blacks and people of colour are more numerous in the Spanish settlements, than in the colonies of any other nation. The laws of Spain, contrary to the usual system of colonial policy followed by the Europeans, are extremely favourable to the manumission of slaves; and the piety and devotion of the Spanish character, contribute powerfully, as in the dark ages, to increase the number of freedmen. The people of colour in the Spanish colonies are in general poor, and not more industrious than the Creoles. They are not admissible to any public office in the state, nor into the army of the line; but they may serve in the militia, and even rise to the rank of captain. They are liable to a capitation tax, which, in Caracas at least, is not exacted; and they are forbidden to have Indian servants. They may be physicians; but they cannot be priests. There are various sumptuary laws regulating the dress of their women; but they are fallen into neglect; and the only regulation now in force is one, which prohibits them from having a cushion to kneel upon in church. Trifling as this distinction is, it is sometimes abrogated for money, in favour of a particular family, by a royal order, raising the members of it to the rank and privileges of whites. The marriages of people of colour with white families, of distinction, have been always extremely rare in the Spanish colonies; but, with the lower ranks of whites, they were not unfrequent, till 1785, when the difference of colour was declared to be a sufficient reason for refusing consent to a marriage, on the ground of disparity of condition in the parties. Since that time such marriages have ceased, except in the case of white women, who having been exposed, when infants, by their mothers, to conceal their frailty, had been saved by ne-

gresses

gresses or people of colour, and who found themselves reduced, when they grew up, to marry in the class where they had been educated. M. Depons calls loudly for a foundling hospital at Caracas to remedy this evil.

*Indian Population.* The Indians subject to the Spanish government are as remarkable for the indolence and weakness of their character, as for the mildness of their disposition. The Spanish law considers them as in a state of perpetual pupillage, and assigns to them guardians and protectors. Their civil contracts are not binding, unless made in the presence and with the approbation of the Spanish magistrates; and their lands cannot be sold, unless under the sanction of legal authority. They live in villages, without any mixture of Spaniards or people of colour, under a *cabildo* or magistracy of their own nation, whose authority is controuled by a Spanish corregidor or protector, to whom an appeal lies against the *cabildo* from its subjects, and who is bound to interfere when he sees an occasion, and protect them against its injustice and oppression. The king's *fiscal* or attorney-general is their protector and legal defender, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, brought against them in the courts of law. They have no labour imposed upon them as a task; and the only direct tax to which they are subjected, is the capitation tax, amounting to about two dollars a head. The religious discipline under which they are placed, is extremely slight. They are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition; and in pity to the weakness of their faith, and the dulness of their understanding, they are excused for transgressions and omissions of their religious duty, which would be severely punished in other Christians.

M. Depons blames this excessive lenity and indulgence to the Indians, and alleges that it serves only to encourage their natural propensity to indolence, and to all the vices attending upon it. He proposes that they should be compelled to work, but that the fruits of their labour should be secured to themselves. It is easy to foresee, that if the scheme of M. Depons were adopted, the Indians would probably be condemned to labour; but the gainers by it would be their superintendants and overseers.

There are several tribes of independent Indians in the territory of Caracas; but, with the exception of the Guajiros, they are neither numerous nor formidable. The Guajiros are a fierce and warlike tribe, who are in general in a state of hostility with the Spaniards. They possess a tract of about thirty leagues along the coast to the westward of Maracibo; and can bring into the field 14,000 men, well mounted on horseback, and armed with carabines, and bows and arrows. They are supplied with arms, ammunition, and clothes, by the English of Jamaica, with whom

they carry on a commercial intercourse, which excites the indignation of M. Depons. The remaining tribes of independent Indians are of a mild and peaceable character, and owe their freedom, not to their valour, but to the inaccessible and unwholesome regions which they inhabit.

*Civil and Military Government.* In entering upon this subject, M. Depons is struck with the difference of the policy followed by France and Spain with regard to their colonies. The French planter had his eyes continually directed to the mother country. It was there he ultimately expected to rest after his labours. It was there only where he could aspire to honours or preferment, or even procure education for his children. The colony was a place of temporary exile, where he submitted to live, in order to amass a fortune; France was the home where he proposed to enjoy it. But Spain, in every one of these particulars, has followed a policy directly the reverse. No settler in a Spanish colony can return to the mother country, without an express license from the government. Schools, academies, and universities, are established in the Spanish colonies for the education of the natives. A richly endowed church and splendid hierarchy are open to their ambition. A numerous, respectable, and opulent body of colonial nobility, are strangers to Spain; and additions are continually making to their number from colonists who never crossed the Atlantic. Experience has shewn, that both systems of policy are compatible with the security of the mother country; but, if we consider the internal good of the colonies, we can have little hesitation in giving, of the two, the preference to the French. The Spanish colonies languish under the weight of a cumbrous and oppressive government, calculated not for their own necessities, but to secure, by its extensive patronage, their fidelity and obedience to Spain.

It would lead us to details as prolix as they would be uninteresting, if we were to follow M. Depons in his account of the internal government of Caracas. We shall therefore extract those particulars only in which he differs from Robertson, or where he has added facts or observations of importance to the account of that elegant historian.

The captain-general of Caracas holds his office for seven years. His appointments are valued at 18,000 dollars a year, one half of which consists in his salary, and the other half in perquisites of office. He is bound to reside for 60 days in the colony after the arrival of his successor, in order to answer any complaints that may be brought against him, and these must be decided within other 60 days at farthest. A similar provision is extended to all the other Spanish colonies. Viceroy's are even obliged

obliged to remain for six months in their government after they have resigned it to their successor. But M. Depons trusts that these provisions against the injustice of the governors are, as might be expected, quite illusory.

The inhabitants of Caracas are no longer forced to have recourse to another colony for the settlement of their lawsuits. An *audiencia* or court of law was established at Caracas in 1787. It consists of a regent, three *oidors* or judges, and two *fiscals* or public prosecutors. The regent has a salary of 5300 dollars a year; and each of the judges and public prosecutors 3300 dollars.

The proceedings in the Spanish courts of law are extremely slow, uncertain, and expensive. Business is transacted by means of written memorials of great length, the whole of which must be read over in public to the judges before they can give a decision in the case. M. Depons was present at Caracas when a cause was decided by the Council of War, arising from a vessel which had been cut out of port by the English. The memorials laid before the judges filled 780 sheets of paper, and three days were entirely occupied in hearing them read. The Spanish law is also too favourable to the challenge of judges and assessors by the parties, and too indulgent to appeals. By a contrast, singular in itself, though not uncommon in countries where the despotism of the government is tempered by the influence of the church, there is no law more indifferent about the liberties of men than the Spanish, and none more tender of their lives. The slightest suspicion of a crime is sufficient to hurry a man to prison. The clearest evidence of guilt is hardly able to bring him to the gallows.

The *cabildos* or municipal governments of the new world, were established by the Spaniards at a time when they still enjoyed freedom at home, and they were therefore modelled on the plan of the cities of Castille. They consist of two *alcaldes* or magistrates chosen annually by the *regidores* or council, who hold their offices for life. The *cabildos* of Caracas possessed at one time great political privileges and influence, which they obtained during the weak administration of the House of Austria. But the Bourbons, true to their principle of tolerating no power in the state that could serve as a controul upon their own, contrived, in the course of the last century, to reduce them to a state of insignificance in which they still continue. M. Depons, who is a warm friend to the unity and indivisibility of power, finds much to admire in this proceeding, though he confesses that the *lieutenants of justice*, as he calls them, who have succeeded to the power of the *cabildos*, look to their places only as a road to fortune.

The military establishment of Venezuela consists of one company of grenadiers and ten companies of the line, making in all 918 men, who are recruited in Spain, and distributed at Caracas, Guayra, and Porto Cabello. The artillery is 900 strong, and consists of one company of Europeans, and eight companies of Creoles, people of colour, and blacks. The militia, amounting to 4740, is formed of Creoles and people of colour. In Cumana there are three companies of Europeans, amounting to 221; 450 artillerymen; and 2245 militiamen. In Maracaibo there are 308 Europeans on the military establishment, 100 artillerymen, and 810 militiamen. In the Isle of Margarita there is a company of 77 European soldiers, with 400 native artillerymen, and 770 militiamen. In Varinas there is a single company of 77 men. The whole military force of the captain-generalship of Caracas, therefore, amounts to 13,136 men, supposing all the companies to be complete; but the distance of one province from another is so great, that, if attacked by an enemy, each must look to its own resources alone for its defence.

The fortified towns upon the coast are Maracaibo, Coro, Porto Cabello, Guayra, and Cumana. Of these, the best fortified and most important are Porto Cabello and Guayra. The inland towns, which are the richest and most valuable, are quite open and defenceless. M. Depons recommends to an enemy who would invade Caracas, not to waste time in the attack of the fortified places on the coast, but to land in some convenient situation; and while the invading fleet kept the garrisons of the forts in check, to advance with the invading army against the towns of the interior. As soon as these were in the possession of the invaders, the militia would disperse, and the towns on the coast would be forced to surrender for want of provisions.

*Ecclesiastical Establishment.* The stability of the Spanish government in America is maintained as much by the policy of her ecclesiastical government as by her civil and military institutions. From the place of archbishop to that of door-keeper of the cathedral, all ecclesiastical preferment in America flows directly from the king. The priests, secular and regular, may be considered as an army devoted to his service, and ready to expose themselves in defence of his authority. To the influence which the ignorance and bigotry of the people naturally confer upon their clergy, the Inquisition superadds its terrors. Three courts of the inexorable tribunal maintain the purity of the Catholic faith in Spanish America.

The tithes throughout America belong to the king, and he allows out of them what he pleases for the maintenance of the clergy. In general, the crown is contented with one ninth of the

the produce of the fishes; one fourth is allowed to the bishop, one fourth to the chapter, and the remainder goes to the parish priest, to the repair of churches, and to other pious uses. There are three bishopricks in Caracas. Before the last war, the annual revenue of the bishop of Caracas amounted in some years to 70,000 dollars. It is now reduced to about 40,000. The parish priests in Caracas are chiefly Creoles. The number of priests in Spanish America, though infinitely greater than the good of the colonies requires, is sensibly on the decline. There has been no convent founded in Caracas for the last 60 years. Missions to convert the Indians were not established in Caracas till the middle of the 17th century. They are still in existence; but the missionaries are accused of occupying themselves little with the object of their institution, and of availing themselves of their situation to defraud and oppress the Indians. Some of them acquire great wealth by commerce, or rather by contraband. There are missionaries who have scraped together, by such means, from 30 to 40,000 dollars.

*Agriculture.*—Agriculture is at a low ebb in Caracas. There are not twenty estates in the province which bring in more than 4 or 5000 dollars a year of clear income to the proprietors. Not that landed property is much subdivided, but it is rare to find more than the tenth part of an estate in cultivation. M. Depons assigns five causes for the low state of agriculture in this province. 1. The proprietors are in general drowned in debt. It is not usual for a Spaniard to sell his estate, till he is reduced to the greatest necessity. He prefers rather to borrow money upon it, for which he pays an interest of 5 per cent. There is hardly an estate in the colony, which has not some burden of this sort pressing upon it. 2. It is equally uncommon to meet with an estate, which has not some rent-charges to pay to the church, in consequence of the dying bequest of some pious ancestor of its owner. Such burdens dissipate the gains, and dishearten the industry of the colonists. 3. The planters live in towns, at a great expence, and often above their income, and leave the management of their estates to overseers. 4. The Spanish Creole has the most extravagant passion for public offices and distinctions; for military rank; for some employment in the courts of law, or in the finances; or for the cross of some order. Every Creole of rank has an *apoderado*, or agent at Madrid, whose chief business is to solicit such favours for his employer, when they become vacant. Immense sums are sacrificed to this foolish vanity, and the attention of the colonist withdrawn from his true interest, the improvement of his estate. 5. There is a want of negroes for cultivation at Caracas. It was formerly permitted to import negroes into

into this province from the West India islands; but since the revolt of the Blacks in St Domingo, this trade has been prohibited; and from 1791 to 1804, not a single negro was brought into Caracas. In 1804, permission was granted to two merchants of Caracas to import each 1500 negroes into the province.

The productions of Caracas are, 1. *Cacao*, which is esteemed the best in the world, except that of Soconusco. When the cacao of Caracas is sold at Cadiz for 50 dollars per cwt., that of the river Magdalena, near Carthagena, brings only 44, that of Guayaquil only 32, and that of the river Amazons only 25. A single slave can manage 1000 feet of cacao ground, which ought to produce 1250 lib. of cacao, worth 250 dollars in Caracas. The other expences of cultivation are inconsiderable. A cacao tree begins to bear fruit at the age of seven or eight years, or, near the line, at the age of four or five, and continues to bear till fifty on the coast, or till thirty in the interior. There is no branch of cultivation to which such attention is paid in Caracas as to that of cacao. 2. *Indigo*. The cultivation of indigo was not introduced into Caracas till 1774. It has since prospered exceedingly. The indigo of Caracas is inferior to that of Guatemala; but 25 or 30 per cent. better than that of any other country. 3. *Cotton*. Cotton began to be attended to in Caracas, as an object of exportation, in 1782. The cultivation of it is now considerably extended. 4. *Coffee*. Coffee was neglected as an object of commerce in Caracas till 1784. During the late war, many cacao and indigo plantations were given up, and converted into plantations of coffee. But the whole produce of Caracas for exportation in this article does not yet exceed a million of pounds. It is reckoned that the coffee plantations of Caracas give two pounds of coffee for every square foot. 5. *Sugar*. The whole of the sugar raised in Caracas is consumed within the colony. No people are so fond of sweetmeats, or use such quantities of sugar in their food, as the Spaniards. It is calculated, that, in the province of Venezuela alone, they consume 40,000 cwt. of cacao a year, and a much greater quantity of sugar. 6. *Tobacco*. This being an article of royal monopoly, is cultivated in Caracas, as in every other part of Spanish America, on account of the king. In addition to this account of the territorial riches of Caracas, may be mentioned the immense herds of oxen, horses, mules, sheep and deer, which are dispersed over its plains and vallies. M. Depons asserts, that the number of oxen is not less than 1,200,000; and he reckons the horses at 180,000, and the mules at 90,000.

*Commerce*.—The ports of Caracas which have a right to trade with the mother country, are Guayra, Porto Cabello, Maracaibo, Cumana, Barcelona, Margarita, and Cumana: But Guayra alone has

has more trade, than all the rest. In 1796, the whole value of the imports from Spain to Caracás was estimated at 3,118,811½ dollars, and the import duties came to 281,052 dollars. The exports to the mother country in the same year are rated in the customhouse books at no more than 2,098,316 dollars, and the export duties at 138,052 dollars, many vessels having sailed without their cargoes, in consequence of the alarm of a war with England.

Caracas carries on little trade with the other Spanish colonies. Its exports to Cuba and Porto Rico are not above 100,000 dollars annually. It is true that vessels from the mother country, after discharging their cargoes at Vera Cruz, are permitted to touch at Caracas in their way home, and to take a cargo on board there, which they pay for chiefly in specie. This trade is supposed in time of peace to bring about 400,000 dollars annually into Caracas.

Caracas, like the other colonies on the Spanish Main, has permission to export to foreign West India islands all articles of its own produce, except cacao, provided the trade be carried on in national bottoms; but the returns must be in negroes, or in farming and household utensils, and the balance, if any, must be paid in money. Previous to 1796, the exports of Caracas, by this branch of trade, were confined to about 150,000 dollars, in the productions of its soil, 50,000 dollars in hides, and 250,000 dollars in mules, which were sold in the West Indies for 500,000. The whole returns, in negroes and utensils, did not exceed 100,000 dollars; and the balance, which ought to have been paid in money, was received in manufactured goods, which were smuggled into Caracas.

There has been a contraband trade upon this coast, ever since the colony had any commodities to offer strangers in return for their goods; and, in spite of the vigilance of the Spanish government, it must continue to flourish, while the mother country is unable to supply the colonists from her own manufacturing industry, and refuses to admit the manufactures of other nations, without duties of near 50 per cent. Before the year 1791, the French colony of St Domingo had the greatest share of this trade. It is divided at present between Jamaica, Curaçon, and Trinidad. According to M. Depons's calculation, it amounted to 750,000 dollars annually, before the breaking out of the war with England in 1796.

During that war, Spain made a violent departure from her ancient colonial policy, by admitting neutrals to trade directly with her colonies, on condition that they paid the same duties to her government at home, as if the trade had been carried on in the usual



usual manner through Cadiz. An order to this effect was issued in November 1797; but such was the outcry raised against it, by the shipping interest of Spain, that it was recalled in February 1800. This revocation served only to throw a number of Spanish vessels, which put rashly to sea in order to resume their colonial trade, into the hands of the English; and it gave additional spirit to the contraband trade, which had prevailed during the whole course of the war, between the Spanish Main, and the islands of Jamaica, Curacao, and Trinidad. This trade was carried on by Spanish vessels, which, being provided with passports from the English admiral on the West India station, sailed from their own harbours on pretence of a voyage to some friendly or neutral port; but being at sea, they made directly for Jamaica, or some other English settlement, where they exchanged their cargoes for English goods. To such a height did this trade proceed, that more than 400 vessels were constantly engaged in it, and 80 vessels with Spanish colours were sometimes to be seen at once in the harbour of Kingston. The little town of Porto Cabello alone exported produce, in 1801, to the value of 1,270,858 dollars, nominally to Guadaloupe, but in reality to Jamaica and Curacao. The Spanish government, though perfectly aware of the existence of this traffic, connived at it while the war continued; but, on the return of peace, a royal order was issued to inquire after and punish the persons who had been concerned in it.

There is a *consulado* or chamber of commerce at Caracas, established in 1793. All commercial causes are brought before it; and it is also charged with the superintendence of commerce, agriculture, and public works. But this part of its duty, according to M. Depons, is much neglected. It enjoys a revenue of 80 or 100,000 dollars a year, arising from certain duties appropriated to its support.

M. Depons gives the following tables of the exports of Caracas, for the years from 1793 to 1796, and from 1797 to 1800 inclusive. The difference shows, that either the exports of the colony have been reduced to one half by the war with England, or that the contraband exportation has been greatly increased in the latter period.

Exports from 1793 to 1796.		Dollars.
367,819 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt., make	-	6,620,742
2,955,963 lib. indigo, at 12 reals p. lib.	- -	5,172,937
1,498,332 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt.	-	299,666
1,325,584 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt.	- -	159,070

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12,252,415

Exports

Exports from 1797 to 1800.		Dollars.
239,162 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt.	-	4,304,916
793,210 lib. indigo, at 14 reals p. lib.	- -	1,386,117
2,834,254 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt.	-	566,850
1,536,967 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt.	- -	184,435
		<hr/> 6,442,318

*Finances.* The finances of Caracas are under the direction of the Intendant, whose authority is independent of the captain-general, and supreme in the colony in all matters of commerce and finance. He holds his place for five years, and it brings him about 18,000 dollars a year. The revenue of Caracas arises chiefly from the customs, the alcavala or duty of 5 per cent. on sales from stamps, licenses, and tithes, and from the produce of the *Cruzada*, and of the sale of tobacco. The two last are destined for the treasury at home; the others to defray the expences of the colonial government; but if there is any deficiency in their produce, it is supplied from the two others. It will be seen, from the following table, that there is usually a deficit even in time of peace; and, since the war with England, the whole receipts of the province have been unable to cover its expenditure. In 1801, the government of Caracas was forced to borrow 200,000 dollars from the exchequer of Santa Fé.

Receipt and expenditure of Caracas from 1793 to 1797, exclusive of the produce of the *Cruzada*, amounting to 26,000 dollars, and the profit of the sales of tobacco, amounting to 700,000 dollars annually.

Years.	Receipt.	Expenditure.	BALANCE.	
			For.	Against.
1793.	1,312,188½	1,503,583½		191,365½
1794.	1,561,931	1,639,900		77,969
1795.	1,443,056	1,549,874		106,817
1796.	1,389,804	1,049,247	340,565	
1797.	1,140,788	1,886,363		745,475

*Topography.* Our limits will not permit us to follow M. Depons in his topographical description of the country, though his readers will find this chapter to be the most entertaining and instructive part of his work. He has intermixed, with his description of the towns, many interesting remarks on the character and manners of their inhabitants, and many useful observations on the defects and abuses of their government and police. The native Spaniards to be found in Caracas, are chiefly Biscayners and Catalans, who, with emigrants from the Canary islands, form the best part of the foreign population of the colony. The Biscayners

ners and natives of the Canary isles often apply to agriculture, with great profit to themselves, and advantage to the settlement. The Catalans devote themselves solely to commerce. They are all three remarkable for their industry and morals; but the Biscayners are more intelligent and enterprising than the other two. The people of colour are the mechanics of the colony. They are poor, and lazy, and unskilful tradesmen; but they are free from any gross or dangerous vices, and exceedingly devout. The chief town swarms, as in the mother country, with beggars, in consequence of the mistaken charity which feeds the idle and the profligate, at the expence of the industrious. The archbishop of Caracas, out of his tithes wrung from the industrious cultivator, distributes his charity once a week among 1200 profligates, who trust to such a resource for their livelihood.

Caracas, the seat of government and capital of the colony, has a population of more than 40,000 souls. It enjoys an elevated situation, a temperate climate, and a salubrious air. During the rainy season, Fahrenheit's thermometer varies from 76° to 52°, and, during the dry season, from 85° to 69°. Guayra, the seaport of Caracas, is at the distance of five leagues, and is much less healthy than that city. The population of Guayra is about 6000 souls. Among the inland towns of the province of Venezuela, they reckon more than twelve which contain from 7000 to 1300 inhabitants, besides many thriving and industrious villages. Porto Cabello, like other towns upon the coast, is less healthy than those of the interior. Its population is reckoned at 7600; and that of Coro, which is also upon the coast, amounts to 10,000.

The province of Cumana is extremely fertile; and if the Spanish government have the good sense to wink at the intercourse of its inhabitants with the island of Trinidad, it is likely to prosper and improve with great rapidity. Cumana and Barcelona, its principal sea-ports, are unhealthy, from the badness and inattention of the police; but this evil might easily be remedied. Cumana has a population of 21,000, and Barcelona a population of 14,000, souls.

Margarita is a possession of little value to the Spaniards; but, in the hands of an active and enterprising enemy, it might do them incalculable mischief, by intercepting the trade between Caracas and the mother country, for which its situation is singularly well adapted.

The situation of Maracaibo is hot, but the climate is salubrious. It contains a population of 22,000 souls, among whom are a number of noble families, sunk in indigence, and prevented, by the prejudices of birth, from engaging in any industrious occupation.

tion. Merida, an inland town of the same province, is distinguished for the industry and intelligence of its inhabitants.

*Spanish Guiana.* The same reason which compelled us to abridge our extracts from the last chapter, obliges us to be entirely silent on the subject of the present, though it contains much curious and valuable information with respect to the course and navigation of the Orinoco.

Would the emancipation of the Spanish colonies be favourable to their future progress and improvement? Would it enable them to redress the grievances under which they at present labour? If assisted to acquire, are they strong enough to maintain, their independence? These are questions, which we have neither time nor room to discuss at length; but the subject of this article, and the interest excited at this moment by the expedition of Miranda, seem to call for some observations on these topics.

The greatest defect in the Spanish colonial government consists in its governing too much; in its being too officious, too intermeddling, too complicated, and too expensive; in its being calculated, not to favour the growth, and protect the progress of an infant colony, but to harass and torment, with unavailing remedies, the last moments of a state sinking under weakness and decrepitude. A numberless host of dependants is kept up, to maintain the colonies in subjection. Checks on the abuse of power are multiplied, till authority clashes with authority, and the people are oppressed without being protected. The same form of government is spread over every part of America, and the same institutions established in the most retired village, which have been found useful or necessary in the seats of government and commerce. The magistrates and retainers of justice are as numerous and as active in a country, where every man has plenty within his reach, as they are in Europe, where an immense population is struggling for subsistence in the midst of its own vices. A devout and well-intentioned government exerts more vigilance about the morals and faith of its subjects in the wilds of America, than it employs vigour at home in the defence of their lives and properties and independence.

The expence of the colonial government, though unnecessarily great, is compensated, in part, by the salaries of its servants being consumed in the places where they are received. But more than two millions are withdrawn from the annual income of the colonies to replenish the Royal treasury of Madrid, from which no part of it ever returns. The taxes and fiscal regulations, by which this revenue is drawn from the people, are singularly injudicious and vexatious. Agriculture is discouraged by the exaction of tithes; commerce harassed by the collection

of alcavalas ; and the people chafed and fretted by monopolies. But the least exceptionable taxes in the Spanish colonies, are those which have no other object but to raise money. The Spanish government is one of those which conceives it to be its chief duty to promote the industry of its subjects, and to direct them in the right path to opulence ; and to these ends its fixed regulations are made subservient. The colonies are sacrificed, as usual, to the mother country ; and their heaviest tax is the tribute which they are compelled to pay to the laziness, ignorance, and unskilfulness of Spanish workmen and manufacturers. With the same well-meaning views, one colony, one province, or one city, is continually sacrificed to some other ; and an order often arrives unexpectedly from Madrid, which suspends the most flourishing trade, and condemns a whole province to idleness and want.

If there are abuses which would be corrected by a government resident in America, and acquainted with its local necessities, the Spanish colonies cannot but gain by emancipation. Nor are the same evils and disorders to be apprehended in Spanish America from a change of government, which would follow any disturbances in the West India islands, or such as befel the unfortunate colony of St Domingo. The natural aristocracy of the Spanish colonies resides in the country, and consists of men born and educated in the midst of their inferiors and dependants. The people of colour are sober and religious. The African negroes are few in number ; and the blacks born in the colonies are reconciled to their situation, and accustomed to the same easy and indolent life with their masters. The Indians are the least of all to be feared. The form of government best suited to a people like the Spanish Americans, is monarchy ; and if the monarch presented to them were of the royal family of Spain, or nearly related to it, they would probably submit to him without reluctance.

Some of these colonies are capable, even in their present state, of forming great and powerful empires. Mexico alone contains more than four millions of inhabitants. Peru, including Potosi and Quito, contains as many. The provinces watered by the Orinoco are less populous, and less able to maintain their independence without the protection of some foreign state ; but such is the fertility of those regions, and so admirably are they situated for commerce, that if emancipated from the mother country, they would advance with the rapidity of the United States. With their present means and resources, they are infinitely less able to maintain an independent government, than the populous and opulent regions of Mexico and Peru. Yet, it is against their colonies

colonies that Miranda has directed his efforts. Local and private connexions may have decided his choice; but, whatever be his success, and nothing has yet appeared to make us augur favourably of his enterprize, we may rest assured, that the colonies which he is endeavouring to emancipate, are unable to defend themselves against the mother country, without the succour and protection of England. It is to be hoped, that this succour and protection will be either steadily withheld, or honourably persisted in; and that the colonists will not be first encouraged to take up arms against their sovereign, and then abandoned without a scruple to his vengeance.

ART. XII. *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A. D. 1188. By Giraldus de Barri.* Translated into English, and Illustrated with Views, Annotations, and a Life of Giraldus, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, F. R. S. A. S. 2 vol. 4to.

NOTHING is so convenient to philosophers, historians, and antiquaries, as to have one grand solution for doubts and mysteries of every kind whatsoever—something which shall be a master-key for all locks, or rather a *panacea* for every spasm of doubt or hesitation, which may assail the investigator into antiquity. Two very emphatic words, namely the FEUDAL SYSTEM, were long in reputation as this universal talisman, inasmuch that, in the days of Tristram Shandy, the origin of trunk-hose and buttered beer was satisfactorily referred to this respectable source. But as some invalids are found to prefer the Vegetable Tincture, and others the Balm of Gilead, a great number of later antiquaries have drawn their general arguments, respecting old customs, from the effect of the *Crusades*, instead of the Feudal System. At length, even this fell into disuse; and, the fashion favouring other and more remote systems of deduction, it seems now to be allowed, that our modern age owes as little to these famous expeditions, in the way of information, as those who undertook and conducted them had to boast of real and immediate advantage. It was indeed lucky for these last mentioned personages, that their soul's health was what they had primarily and directly in consideration. *Certes*, imagination can present no state more uncomfortable for the body, than that of a Norman or English chevalier sheathed in, or rather gridironed upon, his own glowing armour, amid the burning sands of Palestine, and rendered half-mad by an host of light-armed Paynims, who, far from allowing

the Red-cross Knights to slake their thirst of vengeance upon their unchristened persons, were contented to hover around them, and overwhelm them alternately with clouds of dust and of arrows. Sorry we are for these doughty sons of chivalry, that our rigid Calvinism cannot permit us to hope that they escaped the singeing of one whilker in the fire of purgatory, by anticipating its pains in the sultry conflicts of the Holy Land; and that we are compelled to believe that all their reward consisted in the immediate pleasure thereby purchased, of now and then cutting the throats of a few Saracens; and occasionally rubbing their beards against the real or supposed tombstone of a saint or patriarch. As to our own times, according to the later and more fashionable historical creed, the use of armorial bearings is the only invention which has descended to us from the Crusades; and truly, if the science of Garter and of Lyon could not have been invented at home, we hardly think it was worth while going so far to fetch it. We owe, however, one permanent benefit to the influence of these extraordinary expeditions, namely, the industry with which some few contemporary authors have described people and manners which now no longer exist—a task which these learned persons only undertook, because their subjects were connected with the history of this holy warfare. Among these, the Welch Itinerary of Girald de Barri is particularly interesting. It contains many curious and minute particulars, respecting the state of the ancient Britons during the twelfth century; and it must be allowed that few motives could either have impelled the author to a tour through Wales at that period, or procured him that respect, forbearance, and protection from the lawless chieftains, whose territories he had to traverse, excepting his pious errand for preaching the recovery of Palestine.

A splendid translation of the Itinerary of Giraldus, while on this expedition, is now before us; and we entertain, both for the original work and the merits of the modern edition, that complacent regard with which it becomes the natives of one elevated region of the island to consider the history of another, allied to it in all the dignity of mountain and wilderness. We could compare the Tweed and the Towy, in the manner of Flucllyn, as undoubtedly there are salmon in both. We might also remind the ancient Britons, that, if they have genealogies, we have pedigrees of a length equally remorseless; if they have bards, we have scannachies; if they have *Aps*, we can boast of many a *Mac*; if they have mead, leeks, and cheese, we have cakes, kail, and whisky. We think they could not desire 'better sympathy.' But it is enough, for the present, to vindicate our national interest in Giraldus Cambrensis, by observing, that if ever the day shall

shall come, that a steady and rational light shall be cast on Welch history, its beams must be reflected upon the dark period of our Scottish annals.

Girald Barri, as we learn from a very good summary of his life by Sir Richard Hoare the editor, was descended, by the father, from a noble Norman family, and, by the mother, from the ancient Welch princes. He was born in 1146, at the castle of Manorbur in Pembrokehire. The future Archdeacon early displayed his inclination for the church, by bursting into tears, and requesting to be conveyed thither, when, upon some hostile invasion, all the youth of the castle rushed to arms. It is probable his father might think him good for little else; and thus, with one grain of the warlike spirit which was then universal, the topographer of Ireland and Wales had been lost to history, and had spent his life in the obscure, though furious, conflicts of the feuds of the Marches. Having acquired, with ease and rapidity, such learning as the times afforded, he was formally dedicated to the church, in which he soon attained preferment. His first remarkable feat was in the capacity of legate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he fairly combated and overcame the reluctance of the Welch to pay disputed tithes of various kinds, particularly of *chiefse*, which must have been a considerable object in that country, if we judge of its importance by the anxiety with which it was vindicated. He also signalized his zeal for the church by suspending the aged Archdeacon of St David's, who could not (at least would not) discard his concubine; and this proved equally to Girald's honour and profit; for the Archbishop named him to the office and revenues of the suspended dignity, burdened, however, with a *modicum* of provision for the ancient sinner who preceded him. In administering this new office, our historian had a contest with the Bishop of St Asaph about the right of dedicating a church at Keri, a village on the frontiers of the diocese of St David's. The mode of contesting the point seems not to have been extremely different from that which two contending chieftains would have employed in disputing the title to a manor or lordship; and furnishes so extraordinary a picture of the manners of the age, that we cannot refrain from giving our readers the detailed account of this holy strife. Girald, learning that the Archbishop meant to steal a march upon him, hurried forwards, like an able general, to pre-occupy the ground.

‘ On the Saturday he despatched messengers to two princes of that country, Eincon Clyd and Cadwallon, requesting them to send some trusty men of their families, provided with horses and arms, to assist him (if necessity required) in asserting the rights of the church of St David, as the Bishop of St Asaph was reported to be attended by a



strong body of men from Powys. He slept that night at Llanbist; and, on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning, found that two of the clergy, and partizans of the Bishop, had concealed the keys of the church: these being at length found, the Archdeacon entered the church, and, having ordered the bells to be rung as a token of possession, he celebrated mass with great solemnity. In the mean time, messengers arrived from the Bishop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Mass being concluded, the Archdeacon sent some of his clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the Bishop, "That if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend, he would receive him with every mark of hospitality; but, if otherwise, he desired him not to proceed." The Bishop returned for answer, "That he was coming in his professional capacity as Bishop of the diocese, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." The Archdeacon and his clergy met the Bishop at the entrance to the churchyard, where a long dispute arose about the matter in question, and each asserted their respective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the Bishop dismounted from his horse, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his pastoral staff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The Archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy, dressed in their surplices and sacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raised crucifix, came forth from the church in processional form. At length, each began to excommunicate the other; but the Archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times, as the usual confirmation of the sentence, the Bishop and his train mounted their horses, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and stones. This resolute conduct of the Archdeacon gained him the approbation of all present, and even of the Bishop himself, who was a fellow-student with him at Paris.' Vol. I. p. xv. xvi.

Whatever honour our author might claim as the champion of the rights of his diocese, we cannot help thinking that the fight of the two bodies of churchmen, each headed by their dignitary, meeting each other with crosses raised, beginning with a mutual attempt at consecration, and ending in mutual anathemas, till the bells, like a sudden discharge of artillery, completely routed the opposite party, exceeds in grandeur indeed, but not in decorum, the vulgar story of the curates contending who should perform the funeral service.

Upon another occasion, Girald takes great credit for going to church, on a very stormy day, to absolve certain excommunicated persons. He admits, at the same time, that he would have hesitated, had not all the journey been by land; a circumstance which seems rather to diminish the merit as well as peril of his expedition.

Moved by these merits, the Chapter of St David's chose Giraldus

aldus their Bishop when a vacancy took place. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans made the same choice, and recommended him to the King for confirmation, praising highly his learning, probity, and spirit. But the King answered, that learning, probity, and spirit, were by no means recommendations to the bishopric of St David's; and thus Giraldus was kept out of the see, for reasons which probably could not have been objected to many of his contemporaries. The Archdeacon was, notwithstanding, highly favoured by Henry II., at whose court he resided for several years. He was even appointed preceptor to John, and added to the number of many learned and accomplished men, whose hard lot it has been to superintend the education of weak and worthless princes. With Prince John, Girald Barry went as secretary to Ireland, where he composed the topography of that kingdom, a valuable and curious work. On his return, he recited his labours before a public audience at Oxford, where, contrary to the usage of the modern theatre, his prelection lasted three whole days; during which, equally differing from modern custom, the author rewarded the patience of his auditors by three hospitable festivals.

In the year 1187, King Henry having taken the cross, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to preach up the crusade through the country of Wales. Girald accompanied him; and though both laboured zealously, the oratory of the Archdeacon had, according to his own account, more effect than the authority and rank of his dignified companion. Indeed, if we take the respectable authority of one John Spang, Girald would have enlisted a whole Welsh congregation of many thousands at once, had he not fallen into the error of preaching to them in English, which they did not understand. The success of their mission was, however, very great. Women were every where seen struggling to withhold their husbands and sons from taking the fatal vow; and though their tears and entreaties withheld but a few from their purpose, yet Girald has collected all the vituperative reflections upon the fair sex which either sacred or profane authors afforded, with an industry only exceeded by the fifth husband of the Wife of Bath, who compiled the treatise,

- Where divers authors (whom the devil confound  
For all their lies) were in a volume bound.  
More legends were there of wicked wives,  
'Than good in all the Bible and saints' lives.  
Love seldom haunts the breast where learning lies,  
And Venus sets ere Mercury can rise.'

Besides the aversion to these obstacles called 'brats and wives,' common to Girald Barry with all those industrious

persons who follow the recruiting service, he had also their happy art of turning even disappointment into commodity. A young man coming to join the Crusaders was way-laid and slain by his enemies. But the holy army was not weakened by his misfortune, for the pathetic exhortations of Girald and Baldwin wrought upon the *twelve* archers who had murdered him, to take the cross, as the only expiation in their power for the slaughter. In one respect the Archdeacon, as well as the Bishop of St David's, appear to have acted with the puny faith of their calling: for although the first to take the cross, yet when their mission was completed, they very considerably exchanged their pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the more peaceful occupation of repairing the cathedral of St David's at home. It was during the course of this missionary expedition, that our author compiled his Itinerary, containing such a variety of curious and interesting topographical information.

When cleared from his vow to go to the Holy Land, Girald accompanied King Henry to France, during which expedition that monarch himself, many of his retinue, and almost all the personal attendants of our author, were carried off by an epidemic disorder. Here he had nearly suffered a loss of which only a studious scholar can estimate the amount. He had entrusted his baggage, containing important letters of recommendation, a large sum of money, and the journal of his Welch Itinerary to a stranger, whom he had hired as his personal servant. In his journey towards the sea coast, this man was amissing on the arrival of the Archdeacon at Abbeville, which gave rise to the following methodical reflections by Girald on his supposed loss.

‘First—The loss of his money was something, but moderate when compared with his other losses; for money was oftentimes lost, and oftentimes recovered.

‘Second—The loss of the earl's letters, and of his own appointment as Legate in Wales, was still greater; but as he knew the purport of them, he could, by similar letters from the justiciary, obtain some kind of redress.

‘Third—The loss of his journals was by far the most severe, and indeed irreparable, the book not being as yet published. “*Non edito, sed amando.*” Life, p. xxviii.

But the reappearance of his domestic, with all his baggage safe and untouched, drew from him the observation,

‘That God oftentimes inflicts with heavy tribulations those whom he loves and guides; and at the moment when they are in the greatest distress, shews himself propitious and near at hand.’ Life, p. xxix.

When Richard Cœur de Lion departed for the Holy Land, he honoured our author with the situation of co-adjutor to William de Long Champ, Bishop of Ely, Regent of the kingdom.

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In this situation he might have attained either the Bishoprick of Bangor or of Llandaff, but having fixed his heart on that of St David's, he declined both. At length, on the death of the aged incumbent, he was again recommended as a fit candidate for his favourite see. But his powerful connexions, as a descendant of Welch princes, were deemed an unsurmountable obstacle to his attaining the only preferment which he appears to have ever coveted; and a sort of double return took place. Both bishops elect appealed to the Pope; and Girald, pleading his cause before him in person, presented Innocent III. with his works, with this punning compliment, '*Præsentarunt vobis alii libras, sed nos libros.*' This only proved, that our author did not understand the proper means to secure a favourable reception at Rome; for his adversaries' pounds preponderated over his books, and his cause was decided against him. From this period he was involved in disputes with the see of Canterbury and with the Court, although probably the persecutions which he underwent have not been softened in his own account of them. At length, wearied out with the contest, he resigned his archdeaconry and church preferments in favour of his nephew Philip de Barri, to whom he was often accustomed to apply the verse,

*Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,  
Fortunam ex aliis—*

Girald afterwards lived in retirement, from which he refused to emerge, even when the bishopric of St David's, so long the object of his ambition, was at length offered to him. He died at St David's, in the 74th year of his age, and lies buried in the cathedral church. We have, in the work before us, a most beautiful engraving of his tomb. The character of this learned and zealous historian seems to be very justly summed up by the present translator.

'Noble in his birth, and comely in his person; mild in his manners, and affable in his conversation; zealous, active, and undaunted in maintaining the rights and dignities of his church; moral in his character, and orthodox in his principles; charitable and disinterested, though ambitious; learned though superstitious; **SUCH WAS GIRALDUS.** And in whatever point of view we examine the character of this extraordinary man, whether as a scholar, a patriot, or a divine, we may justly consider him as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.

The next department of Sir Richard's work is called an introduction to the History of Wales, from the Invasion of Britain by the Romans, down to the year 1118, when Girald made his progress. This introduction does not quite merit the extensive title which it bears. It is rather to be entitled a Dissertation upon the Campaigns of the Romans in Wales, with a very minute, and,  
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we have no doubt, valuable and curious account of the military roads, stations, sculptures, &c. which still preserve the memory of their conquests. Many of their monuments are engraved with great beauty, and the labour of the antiquarian and artist have been by no means confined to such as occur in Wales. Much of this learning, however interesting, is entirely out of its proper place. It would have formed the grounds of an excellent archæological essay, but has no relation to Girald Barri, who but rarely alludes to the Romans, their conquests, or their monuments, during his whole progress. We must confess we should have been more edified by an account of the ancient British manners and history, from the period of the retreat of the Romans, till the 12th century. This would unquestionably have thrown light upon the Itinerary of Giraldus; but this whole space is hurried over in less time than is allotted to any individual Roman road; and therefore, we think Sir Richard Hoare has been so far guilty, both of the sin of commission and omission.

We next arrive at the work of Giraldus himself, which is, as we have already repeatedly hinted, a journal of his travels through Wales, when preaching the Crusade, under the auspices of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury. Every day's journey is strictly measured out; and the moving accidents 'by flood and field,' the detention at ferries, and the lack of guides, as piteously detailed as if the sufferers had actually made the tour of Wales under all the disadvantages of the present day. To be sure, instead of a broken postchaise, Baldwin and Girald were occasionally hampered by the obstinacy of some stubborn chieftain; and instead of being served with chickens in their shells to breakfast, they had the animating and sublime risk of being massacred at the next turning, and bequeathing their names to some 'wood of revenge,' or 'den of mourning.' In the style of this ancient journal, we acknowledge a tone of perfect veracity in what Girald avouches upon his own knowledge, and of superstitious credulity concerning church miracles, or whatever concerned the craft of the 'Great Diana' of the period. Such a document, in a period of so great antiquity, is invaluable; because we not only learn from thence, with some accuracy, what was the state of the country at the time, but we also become acquainted with the progress of society, and the effect of the ancient scholastic education upon our author and his companions, certainly the best informed men of the age. In a word, it presents us with a map, not only of the country itself, but of the manners of the inhabitants, the more valuable, as it was pourtrayed by one who was ignorant of the extent of the service which in the last respect he was rendering us, and who imagined he was recording

cording facts, when he was only making us acquainted with the weaknesses to which, in a certain state of society, the human mind is inevitably incident. As a description of the face of the country, and as an index to the feelings of its inhabitants during the reign of Henry II., the *Itinerary* and its supplement furnish separate objects of consideration.

In the former respect, although the value of Girald's work is universally acknowledged, it is to us comparatively an uninteresting subject of review. We can only allow its very important merit, historically speaking, while the minute and local nature of the information conveyed is beyond our criticism, and, when unconnected with history, is perhaps not very deserving of investigation. Yet some of Girald's topographical descriptions are in themselves very striking; and perhaps we cannot select a more favourable specimen of his style, and of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's translation, than the noted account of the Abbey of Llanthoni.

' In the deep vale of Ewyas, which is about an arrow-shot broad, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains, stands the church of St John the Baptist, covered with lead, and an arched roof of stone; and, considering the nature of the place, not unhandsomely constructed, on the very spot where the humble chapel of David the Archbishop had formerly stood, decorated only with moss and ivy. A situation truly calculated for religion, and more adapted to canonical discipline, than all the monasteries of the British isle. It was founded by two hermits, in honour of the retired life, far removed from the bustle of mankind, in a solitary vale watered by the river Hodeni. From Hodeni it was called Lanhodeni, for *Lan* signifies an ecclesiastical place. This derivation may appear far-fetched, for the name of the place in Welsh, is Nanthodeni. *Nant* signifies a running stream, from whence this place is still called by the inhabitants, Landewi Nanthodeni, or the church of St David upon the river Hodeni. The English therefore corruptly call it Lanthoni, whereas it should either be called Nanthodeni, that is, the brook of the Hodeni, or Lanhodeni, the church upon the Hodeni. Owing to its mountainous situation, the rains are frequent, the winds boisterous, and the clouds in winter almost continual. The air, though heavy, is healthy; and diseases are so rare, that the brotherhood, when worn out by long toil and affliction during their residence with the daughter, retiring to this asylum, and to their mother's lap, soon regain their long wished for health: for as my topographical history of Ireland testifies, in proportion as we proceed to the eastward, the face of the sky is more pure and subtle, and the air more piercing and inclement; but as we draw nearer to the westward, the air becomes more cloudy, but at the same time is more temperate and healthy. Here the monks, sitting in their cloisters, enjoying the fresh air, when they happen to look up towards the horizon, behold the tops of the mountains as it were touching the heavens, and herds of wild deer feeding

on their summits: the body of the sun does not become visible above the heights of the mountains, even in serene weather, till about the first hour, or a little before. A spot truly fitted for contemplation, a happy and delightful spot, fully competent, from its first establishment, to supply all its own wants, had not the extravagance of English luxury, the pride of a sumptuous table, the increasing growth of intemperance, and ingratitude, added to the negligence of its patrons and prelates, reduced it from freedom to servility; and if the step-daughter, no less enviously than odiously, had not supplanted her mother.'—  
I. p. 68. 69.

This rival step-daughter, founded at Gloucester, under the patronage of Milo Earl of Hereford, was originally a cell of the mother church of Llanthoni in Wales. Sir Richard Hoare, in his notes, gives us an animated picture of the charity by which the foundation was dictated, as well as of the reluctance with which Robert de Betun, originally prior of Llanthoni, compelled to abandon that solitary and romantic spot, sought preferment in a more safe and wealthy, but less interesting country. This Robert de Betun had been created Bishop of Hereford in 1129, having been the second prior of the monastery of Llanthoni.

Robert de Braci was the third prior of this abbey; during his time the peace and tranquillity of this religious establishment was so completely destroyed, by the continual incursions and depredations of the neighbouring Welsh, that the residence became insupportable: he applied to Robert de Betun, his predecessor, for advice and relief on behalf of his distressed brethren. The feelings and conduct of the bishop on this melancholy occasion, are so truly pathetic and charitable, that I shall give them in the words of his biographer: "*Singulariter autem succurrebat animo, graviusque torquebat conventus Lanthoniæ inter barbaras gentes deprehensus. Audit spoliatos semel et secundo. Audit victualia jejuniis defecisse, nec alia jam posse tuto convectari. Dolet, anxiatur, luget, tanquam omnes trucidasset. Ascivit ad se conventum, tradidit eis domos suas, capellam, horrea, cellaria, cæterasque necessarias officinas, redditus insuper episcopales, quantum necessitatibus eorum sufficere possit. Interim quæsit et invenit eis locum habitati-  
onis apud Glocestriam, expensas dedit ad ædificandum. Secundo anno transfudit illuc conventum.*"

Many other particulars concerning Robert de Betun may be found in his life, written by William de Wycumb, Prior of Llanthoni, and printed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, from which I shall select another anecdote, as relating to the convent of Llanthoni. On his promotion to the see of Hereford, he is said to have quitted his retirement with reluctance; and on reaching the summit of the Hatterel hills, and looking back to the sanctuary he had left, he burst into a flood of tears, and could with difficulty be removed from the spot: his steady partiality and affection to the community of which he was once a member, were amply exemplified by his generous and charitable conduct towards it during the period of its distress.' I. p. 79. 80.

From

From the specimen which we have given, it may be noticed, that Girald is spirited and just upon subjects, where most monkish historians are turgid and little scrupulous of veracity. We may therefore trust, so far as the author quotes his personal observation, to the testimony which he has given us of the state of the towns, castles, and religious houses which he had occasion to describe; and had we any doubts on the subject, they would be removed by the industry of the Editor, who has not failed to follow his original through every winding of his journey, and who, we find, corroborates, from the present state of many of the buildings described by the Cambrian, the account rendered of them in the Itinerary.

But although topographical inquiries are worthy of deep attention, because they often tend to confirm or disprove the details of history, yet, when remote from the scene of action, we must admit that we are more deeply engaged by what relates to the state of human manners, than the mere facts that the church of St Germain is situated 'three or four miles from Rhayader in Radnorshire, on the right hand side of the road, from thence to Llanniddloes;' or that the two castles, newly erected on the Tracth Mawr, are 'one called Deudraeth, belonging to the sons of Conan, situated in Evionyth, towards the northern mountains; the other, named Carn Mardryn,' &c. Our attention has been, therefore, principally engaged by the numerous traits of Welch manners with which Girald has diversified his journal. He often favours us with historical anecdotes; and although he yet more frequently gives superstitious details of miracles and prodigies, we are not to view even these *anilia* with too fastidious an eye. To know what men believe, is one mode of estimating what they are. Besides, such tales are rarely told, without bringing out some circumstance respecting the habits and customs of the actors. For example, in the tale of the spectre who appeared to Henry, we have a slight specimen of the English of that early period. In these respects, such legends may be even more valuable than the facts of history herself; for the dry detail of the annals of a rude people are only interesting to their descendants; whereas, whatever tends to ascertain the manners of an early stage of society, is a step gained in the history of mankind.

Among the customs which Giraldus and his commentator have thus preserved, we cannot help distinguishing very many which are still common in Scotland. The strange kind of divination practised by inspecting the blade-bone of a sheep, Vol. I. p. 192. is not entirely worn out in the Highlands of Scotland.

The



The cloth made by the Welch for their garments, was called Breachan; and the same name is, in old ballad poetry, given to the Highland tartan.

‘ He turned him right and round about,  
And rowed him in his breachan;  
And laid him down to fey a sleep,  
I’ the Lawlands o’ Buleighan.’

The curious account given by Sir Richard of the Druidical ceremonies observed on the first of November, immediately recals to a Scotchman the superstitious sports of Hallow-E’en.

‘ The autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion, to escape from the black short-tailed fow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water; each throwing a nut into the fire; and those that burn bright, betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.’  
Vol. II. p. 315.

The burning of nuts is mentioned at great length by Burns, and is in universal observance in Scotland, though the augury is limited to love affairs. The ducking for apples, and snatching at them when suspended, are also common practices. The passing-bell, mentioned as having been formerly used in Wales, is, or at least was, within these few years retained in some parts of Scotland. The beadle went before the coffin, alternately ringing a small handbell, and reciting part of a psalm, or at least some religious rhyme, in a very lugubrious tone. Many other curious coincidences might be mentioned.

In the last part of his work, which is a description of Wales, Giraldus gives us two formal and distinct treatises on the good and bad qualities of his countrymen. These run very much into each other. For example, we learn from the first, that the Welch were the most sober and abstemious of men, when living upon their own account; but from the second, that they amply indemnified themselves, when they had an opportunity of feeding on free cost. In the first, they are praised for the dauntless courage with which they exposed their naked bosoms to the spears of the mailed Normans; in the second, censured for their base and dishonourable custom of flying when steadily opposed. Among their virtues, is enumerated that of continence; among their vices, a bad habit of marrying their cousins-german; and finally, Giraldus, as an Englishman, gives his advice how  
Wales

Wales may be best subdued and governed, while, as a Welchman, he instructs his countrymen, in a separate chapter, how they may best rebel against and resist the Saxon domination. There can be, however, little doubt, that, in his heart, he was a true Welchman, as is evident from the conclusion of his work, which we shall extract, as a specimen both of the original and of the translation.

‘ The English, I say, fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the island, and secure to themselves the possession of the whole ; but the Welsh maintain the conflict, that they, who have so long enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, may at least find a hiding-place in the worst corner of it, amongst the woods and marshes ; and, banished, as it were, for their offences, may there in a state of poverty, for a limited time, perform penance for the excesses they committed in the days of their prosperity. For the perpetual remembrance of their former greatness, the recollection of their Trojan descent, and the high and continued majesty of the kingdom of Britain, may draw forth many a latent spark of animosity, and encourage the daring spirit of rebellion. Hence, during the military expedition which King Henry the Second made in our days against South Wales, an old Welshman at Pencadair, who had faithfully adhered to him, being desired to give his opinion about the royal army, and whether he thought that of the rebels would make resistance, and what would be the final event of this war, replied, “ This nation, O king, may now, as in former times, be harassed, and in a great measure weakened and destroyed by your and other powers, and it will often prevail by its laudable exertions ; but it can never be totally subdued through the wrath of man, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think, that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may hereafter come to pass, shall in the day of severe examination before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth.” II. 360, 361.

Sir Richard Hoare's part of the work is respectably executed. The English is good, and yet preserves that sort of formality which is not unpleasing in perusing an ancient author, and which, indeed, is the necessary consequence of a literal and faithful translation of a topographical work, where it is impossible to recast the sentences upon a freer model, without injuring the authenticity of the translation. The translator's notes and supplement convey all that we can reasonably desire for the illustration of the text, although they want the display of that varied lore with which late commentators have sometimes adorned such subjects. A more intimate acquaintance with ancient poetry might have added something to these lucubrations. For example, there is a long and most curious romance, or romantic history, in the British Museum, on the exploits of

Guarine, which would have enabled Sir Richard to throw much light upon the history of that famous champion. Fordun should have been consulted concerning the history of Merlin Wyllt or Silvester. Sir Richard would have seen from that early authority, that the prophet died, not in Wales, but in the *Silva Calydonia*, and was buried at Drummelziar (*tumulus Merlini*). We also think Sir Richard might have lightened his labours a little, by appealing to Drayton, and other ancient English poets; and are rather surprized, when he describes Barri, that he omits the famous verses of Spenser, on the subject of the din heard amid its rocks, which he poetically imputes to the spirits labouring to complete a duty imposed on them by Merlin, as still expecting the return of their taskmaster. But, although some of these little fringes and ornaments might have been introduced with good effect, we are far from thinking that the commentator has been idle or indifferent. Much valuable and curious matter is drawn from the Cambrian bards, with some very spirited English versions of their poetry, by Richard Fenton, Esq. The following is a specimen from his translation of the *Hirlas*, or Drinking-Horn of Owen.

‘ Cup-bearer, when I want thee most,  
 With duteous patience mind thy post,  
 Reach me the horn, I know its power  
 Acknowledged in the social hour ;  
*Hirlas*, thy contents to drain  
 I feel a longing, e’en to pain :  
 Pride of feasts, profound and blue,  
 Of the ninth wave’s azure hue,  
 The drink of heroes formed to hold,  
 With art enrich’d and lid of gold !  
 Fill it with *bragawd* to the brink,  
 Confidence-inspiring drink ;  
 Then fill’d, the horn to *Gwgan* bear,  
 Warrior of the brow severe,  
 Whose gallant actions loud proclaim  
 His title to the cup of fame ;  
 Bold in their course, unmatched for speed  
 Are the whelps of *Gronwy*’s breed ;  
 Roused to battle, who can stand  
 The force of the resistless band,  
 Who, in every conflict hard,  
 Merit well the bright reward ;  
 Valued chiefs in sudden shout,  
 Deliverers from disgraceful rout !  
 Whose guardian voices ever near  
*Sabrina*’s shepherds joy to hear,  
 Whose fame on record shall be found,  
 So long as horns and mead go round.’

II. p. 219. 220.

The notes, as well as the original of Giraldus, supply some admirable subjects for modern poetry; and we were not surprised, though much pleased, to meet, in the course of our reading, with many of the incidents and heroes of Southey's *Madoc*. We have, for example,

— 'That hot and unexpected charge  
On Keiriog's bank —————

————— and Berwyn's after strife.'

We recognized also, with pleasure, our friends Rhys, Cyveilioc, and even old Goagan of Powisland. Giraldus, too, furnished Southey with the interesting anecdote concerning the disinterring of old King Owen; in which unworthy operation, we are afraid, the archdeacon was himself an assistant.

This work is most beautifully printed, and adorned with engravings, both of the monuments of antiquity, and of the scenes traversed by the Missionaries of the Crusade. It is a splendid present to Wales; and he will deserve well of Ireland, and we will add of Britain, who shall give an edition of the *Topographia Hiberniæ*, as well translated and illustrated.

ART. XIII. *Recollections of Paris in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1805.* By John Pinkerton. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 1025. Longman & Co. London, 1806.

WE have long known Mr Pinkerton as a laborious, polemical antiquary, and a diligent compiler of antiquarian history, in a most absurd and detestable style. We expected something interesting, however, from the Parisian recollections of a man so learned and industrious; and after being quite sickened with descriptions of the galleries, gardens, dinners, and spectacles of Paris, we looked forward with much satisfaction to the more substantial entertainment of Mr Pinkerton's erudition and originality. It was infinitely consolatory, therefore, for us to read in his preface, that many of the topics of which he was to treat, 'were such as did not occur in the works of *fugitive* travellers;' and that new views were introduced on the most trivial, for the instruction as well as the amusement of his readers.

On turning, with some impatience, to the work itself, we were highly gratified to find the first chapter presented under the imposing title of 'General Ideas,' and prepared ourselves for the discussion of some profound and comprehensive maxims as to the succession of political events, and the revolutions of empire, or at least for the exposition of some grand principles for the disci-

mination of national character, or the correction of prejudices. Instead of this, however, we were mortified to discover, that Mr Pinkerton's 'general ideas' consisted entirely of a very few miscellaneous *facts*, with regard to the city of Paris, arranged in the most fantastical order that can well be imagined. We are there told, that the water of the Seine is greenish; and that, in the Place Dauphiné, there is a superb monument to the memory of General D'Estaing; that the Emperor Julian admired Paris as a place of residence; and that it is warmer than London in summer: that the river was frozen over for a fortnight in 1802; and that the people there do not burn coals, but wood. The next chapter, which is entitled, 'Of the Environs of Paris,' is still worse. It contains absolutely nothing that can be called information; and the sum of its topographical description, we think, amounts to this: That there is a picturesque island at Charenton; and that St Cloud is a delightful village: that the road from it to Paris is lighted by *reverberating* lamps; and that, at Mont Martre, there are ale-houses where the common people dance and eat sallads. We are likewise informed, that, on one of these occasions, the floor gave way, and that several of these merry persons were suffocated in the rubbish.

All this, we must confess, rather disheartened us; but our astonishment, it will easily be believed, was extreme, when we discovered, as we went on, that our plodding, pedantic, pugnacious archæologist, who left this country with a confirmed character for all these accomplishments in 1802, was, in the course of three little years, transformed into a strange likeness of a Parisian *petit-maître*; was become a profound critic in wines, dressed dishes, and ornaments for the table; was in raptures with the freedom and gallantry of the French ladies; prattled pieces of philosophism about adultery and the laws of divorce; and, affecting an air of the most amiable *etourderie*, indicated the profoundest contempt for the usages and fashions of this melancholy island.

Most of our readers have probably had the misfortune to meet with some ill-conditioned young man recently returned from the Continent, bursting with admiration of every thing French, and with derision for every thing English; enraptured with the language, the manners, the poetry, the principles, and philosophy, of the great nation; sneering at our broad cloth and sea coal, and uttering various original pleasantries on the subject of roast beef, Shakespeare, and connubial fidelity. A personage of this description is laid, in our vulgar tongue, to be *Frenchified*; and the word is so very expressive, that we must be permitted to make use of it. Now, we have seen various descriptions of persons who have undergone this salutary process, from gentlemen out of livery, to  
rich

rich West Indians ; but, until this time, it never was our fortune to meet with a *Frenchified pedant* ; and truly the operation, we conceive, could scarcely be performed on a more untoward subject ; the natural anxiety, stiffness, and seriousness of the original character, running into very singular combinations with the slippancy and petulance of the new one, and occasionally forming contrasts of a very amusing description. It is the spectacle of this extraordinary metamorphosis, which gives these volumes all the interest they possess. Mr Pinkerton's partiality for every thing French is quite ludicrous and unbounded : not only their dinners, wines, exhibitions, fashions, and fruits, are incomparably superior to ours, but their men and women, their marriages, baths, tastes, tempers, mobs, and artists, are equally delightful : nay, their style of gardening is infinitely more pleasing than ours, and their statues much superior to those of Rome and Athens. All this optimism, too, is delivered in a style so exquisitely compounded of the author's old scholastic and his new gallant phraseology, that the result is something quite grotesque and original. We must gratify our readers with a few specimens of these interesting recollections.

' The hour of dinner being so late at Paris, the formerly enchanting meal of supper has become almost unknown. Hence it is generally in the half hour of the desert, when the rosy or white champaign sparkles in the glass, that the French ladies display their most fascinating powers. Assuming, as it were, the character of actresses, they attack the men, or defend themselves, with the most brilliant coruscations of wit and humour, of affected simplicity, or the most refined shrewdness and discernment of character. Their eyes also become so expressive and impassioned, that they seem to wield, like Circe, the rod of enchantment.

' Diderot has somewhere imputed to the British fair an apparent pride, coldness and disdain ; nor can it be wondered that such impressions are made by some English women upon Frenchmen ; for the French ladies may certainly be said to form a perfect contrast, being warm, humble, and alluring. A French woman always looks upon even a stranger as if she would be happy to converse with him. Her eyes never fail to say, " Pray, my good sir, talk to me." Perpetually and intensely conscious of her sex, she regards the society of men as the summit of her felicity. Disinterested in her prepossessions, she follows the bent of nature, and not the dictates of avarice. And it not rarely happens, that they are as steady in maintaining an attachment, as they are warm in its formation. The ladies of the south of France, some of them descendants perhaps of the ancient Greek colonies, are particularly celebrated for the sweetness of their countenance, the infinite expression of their eyes, and the warmth of their constitutions. A fair Lyonsese may be said to form one of the most enchanting objects in the

universe; and the Grecian graces seem to have glided thus far to the north. Yet the Frenchmen often speak with rapture of the Italian and Spanish women as being yet more divine. The most celebrated beauty of Paris, Madam Tallien, is a Spanish lady; and the generals have often Italian favourites.' Vol. I. p. 25—27.

This description seems to have inflamed our gallant author's imagination to a degree of poetical inspiration; and, blending certain classical images, as is his manner, with his modern recollections, he concludes by exclaiming, 'It is no wonder, then, that an English traveller feels as if he were in the ancient island of Cyprus; or at Rome, during the games of Flora, when the courtezans danced naked on the stage.' He is afterwards kind enough to inform 'the inexperienced traveller, that the French fair do not grant their favours, without previous selection, difficulty, and devotion;' and after giving himself, for some time, the ridiculous airs of *un homme à bonnes fortunes*, he partly communicates the secret of his success, in the following short sentence, which, of itself, we really think, might justify the account we have hitherto given of this publication.

'The French wines also, certainly excite the amorous passions; and may be regarded as one cause of a singularity observed in all ages, the gaiety, petulance, and salacity of the French male, which so powerfully seduce the females of other countries.' p. 28.

After this, it will not surprise the reader to find Mr Pinkerton joining with the Parisian *beaux esprits*, to ridicule our prosecutions for *crim. con.* in cases where 'a man of spirit would have recourse to the sword or pistol, if he wished to quarrel about such trifles.' He reasons also on the subject of divorce, in the following pious and convincing manner.

'In the new civil code, one chief reason assigned for a divorce, is a complete dissonance of temper. And certainly, as marriage could never be intended, either by God or man, to produce mutual misery, it would seem that no juster cause can be assigned. Milton in vain attempted to introduce it into the English laws, which allow no divorce, except for infidelity,—too frequently a matter of laughter in France. With an equal knowledge of human nature, the French code permits the wife to sue for a divorce, if the husband keep a servant maid or other concubine in the same house; an outrage generally too powerful for female feelings.' I. 32.

But our author is not Frenchified upon points of gallantry alone;—he is anxious to persuade his readers, that he has acquired all the sprightliness and pleasing prattle of that facetious people, and, in an evil hour, has yielded to the temptation of essaying his talent at light and ingenious trifling, in the following and other passages.

• This

‘ This work may be said, in some degree, to resemble the city of which it treats, and the people whom it delineates.

*J’aime tous les genres, hors le genre ennuyeux.*

In order to avoid the tedious nature of continual description, occasional chapters shall be interspersed of a different character. Nay, as, in Paris, you pass rapidly from a trifling or disagreeable object, to one of the greatest utility and magnificence, the like freedom shall be used in this picture. Yet the author shall not aspire to the license of Montaigne, who, in his chapter on boots, has not said one word concerning boots, though he have treated of almost every thing else.

‘ It is to be regretted that, when titles were abolished in France, the titles of books were not also included in the proscription; for numerous are the works published at Paris, and elsewhere, which might as well have appeared without any titles at all; and where, as in the Hebrew, the reader may begin at the end. But, as the facetious Count Anthony Hamilton says in his tales, *Mon ami le bôlier, commencez par le commencement, s’il vous plaît,* ‘ My dear friend the ram, begin at the beginning, if you please,’ so shall we proceed to the subject of this chapter, which is the Neology, a name which may be extended to the new forms of composition, and new phrases, as well as the new words, introduced by the French Revolution.’ Vol. I. p. 38–39.

This, it will be admitted, is sufficiently melancholy: perhaps it is a part of the same joke, that there is not in the whole chapter a single new word or phrase specified; though, unlike the Essays of Montaigne, it contains nothing upon any other subject; but a drawing disquisition upon ‘ words which have been attempted to be introduced by writers of an usurped and meteoric reputation, and which have been already effaced by the sponge of oblivion.’ There are diverse other pieces of wit, scattered through these volumes; such as the author’s sly question to one of the botanical professors, ‘ Who was the *perruquier* of his orange trees?’ which were cut into round tops; his facetious description of dinner, as ‘ that solemn hour of conviviality, alike agreeable to *infancy*, youth, and age;’ and his remark, that ‘ the Hall of the General Assembly, National Convention, &c. was uncarpeted, whence, the feet becoming chilled, the head became hot, and the consequences are known to all Europe, forming another chapter of great events from little causes.’ Brilliant, however, as these sallies of Mr Pinkerton’s wit are, in this elaborate performance, we can gather from one or two traits, that he is not gifted with any great felicity of extempore repartee; and that he has sometimes been made the object of a sarcastic pleasantry, to which he did not know how to reply. He speaks with vehement derestation, we observe, of those sly pieces of malice, which are launched in the certainty that no reply can be given, because even a repartee would seem to ac-



knowledge the justice of the sarcasm. Hence,' he continues, 'any such attack is detested, as alike insidious and cruel, partaking more of the baseness of *poisoning*, than even of the courage of assassination.' And, in another place, he speaks with almost as much acrimony against the learned Villoisin, who, it seems, had a 'trick, unworthy of a great man, of launching some unexpected sarcasm at the moment of parting, to which he knew his friends could not be prepared to reply; and which only shews (in Mr Pinkerton's opinion) how nearly a great Greek scholar could approach to the character of an old woman!'

Of the delicacy of Mr Pinkerton's taste in the fine arts, the reader may judge from his observations on the *Venus de Medici*, which, he conceives, should be ranked among the third or fourth-rate productions of the art; and from his still more exquisite observation, that a statue, by a nameless artist of Brussels, 'had a gaiety and expression in the countenance, seldom found in the insipid simplicity of the Grecian models.' After this, we cannot be surprised to find him extolling the terraced walks, and broad alleys of the garden of the *Thuilleries*, as infinitely more beautiful than the more natural graces of an English garden; and declaring, that the parts 'of the park at Brussels, which approach to this form, are those which give least satisfaction.' Yet, after all, we believe most readers will be a little startled, when he quotes the example of a bas-relief of a young woman looking for a *flea* upon her chemise, as a striking example of the elegant fancy and *amiability* of the French artists.

There are two chapters on dinners; and three, we think, on wines, in which Mr Pinkerton has retailed all the common-place remarks which he has been able to collect, during his residence in Paris, on these interesting subjects. It is in some measure ludicrous, and in some measure melancholy, to see a clumsy saturnine man of letters giving himself the airs of a *gourmand enjoué*, and endeavouring to derive a miserable consequence from a pretended familiarity with the newest caprices of sensuality or fashion, in the gratification of a pampered appetite. In his own inimitable style he informs us, that 'oysters are solemnly agreeable on that occasion;' and then adds, with all the complacency of a man of superior talents and opportunities, 'The use of red wine with oysters, shews great want of *savoir vivre*, and is even pernicious to the health, as it generally produces indigestion.' Fish, we are then informed, is usually eaten last, and in this respect, as in all other, the Parisian fashion is pronounced to be incalculably preferable to ours.

‘ This custom seems far more agreeable to the stomach, and by practice is found to be so, than our fashion of beginning with the fish, a crude food, of little nutrition, and often of difficult digestion. Indeed it has often appeared to me, from long experience, that what may be called the iatrical, or medical arrangement of the French dishes, cannot be surpassed; and one would imagine that the cooks had consulted beneficent physicians. A person who leaves England with so weak a stomach that it has long refused the luxury of two dishes, may, without inconvenience, taste of twenty at a French repast.’ Vol. II. p. 102.

This is very comfortable intelligence; but the regimen of Paris appears to have suited Mr Pinkerton amazingly. He never received any advantage from hot or cold bathing in England; but he assures us, that he ‘ never returned from a Parisian bath, without feeling a marked increase of appetite and health.’ He is likewise pleased to inform us, that the Parisian physicians have lately discovered, ‘ that a calf’s foot, eaten for supper without any sauce, is a remedy more efficacious than bark, in most diseases where that substance is administered.’

He returns again to the table; and, after revelling in the muster-roll of rich wines, he insults our insular taste for not adopting the classical ornament of a *plateau*

‘ The *plateau* which decorates the middle of the table, is often strewed with *fioc sand*, of various colours, in compartments, and decorated with small images, and real or artificial flowers. Images of porcelain seem particularly adapted for this purpose; and the proper decorations are peculiar objects of good taste. In England, it is not uncommon to see a splendid silver vase, containing a few oranges, or a salad, placed in the middle of the table, with, perhaps, two smaller vases at either extremity, filled with similar articles, or with bottles of favourite wine. Nothing can be more void of taste, as the contents do not correspond to the richness of the vases, and a statue of clay might as well be mounted on a horse of gold. A bottle of wine, a few oranges, or a salad, can never delight the eyes, the chief intention of the *plateau*; and the vases are only profitable to the silversmith.’ II. 202, 203

Now, we must debate this point with Mr Pinkerton. Superb vessels of silver, we think, as well calculated to delight the eye, as boards covered with coloured sand; and oranges and salads, we maintain, are objects altogether as comely to look on, as artificial flowers or verdure, or even images, as our author terms them of porcelain. His chief objection is, that they may possibly be of some use to the other senses, which, it must be admitted, the *plateau* never can.

We begin to tire of this, now. We have looked through the book in vain for any interesting anecdotes of the figuring and commanding persons in France; but this was too low an office for Mr Pinkerton’s genius. Even of the Emperor himself, we

scarcely find any thing recorded, but the following observation ; the tone and style of which, we think, favours infinitely more of a London pot-house, than of an imperial palace. On receiving the congratulations of the Institute on his elevation, the Emperor conversed familiarly with the members of the deputation ; and we are requested by Mr Pinkerton to believe, that he uttered the following piece of low and vulgar stupidity.

‘ He said he did not admire ecclesiastic writers of history, who were apt to give distorted hues, and perhaps to rail against incontinency when they had arisen from the sides of other men’s wives ; but, observing Caprara and another cardinal within hearing, he said with a smile, “ I did not know that you were so nigh. ” I. 428.

Mr Pinkerton, however, sees nothing in all this that is not very suitable to the dignity of a sovereign ; and proves himself, in more places than one, to have no want of charity for the excesses of this extraordinary person. He assures us, that ‘ the tranquillity of the country was generally regarded as implicated in the life of the chief magistrate ; ’ and that the schemes of assassination patronized by the English, gave general disgust and indignation. ‘ Amidst these repeated plots,’ he adds, ‘ it was not to be wondered at, that some fury should have been excited by this new and base mode of warfare ; and the *unfortunate death of the Duke d’Enghien was rather pitied than blamed.*’

Besides the subjects to which we have already alluded, and which form undoubtedly the leading and staple objects of Mr Pinkerton’s recollections, there are, in these volumes, some very imperfect details of the common objects of attention at Paris ;—the gallery of the Louvre—the garden of plants—the national library—and the literary institutions. There is, likewise, a facetious collection of advertisements for wives and husbands, and some details as to the present methods of education in France. All this, however, could go but a small way to fill up the two octavo volumes, for which, we suppose, the author had contracted with his bookseller ; and accordingly he is reduced, we are sorry to say, to very miserable shifts in order to make up the complement. In the first place, he introduces a considerable pamphlet of more than 100 pages, in answer to the general political speculations of Rousseau, cutting it down very cunningly into moderate chapters, and forcing his readers to swallow one every now and then between the Parisian recollections. Then he is pleased to take this opportunity of laying before the public a vindication of his own book on Geography, from some attack that had been made upon its political principles by Francois de Neufchateau. In the third place, he favours his readers with a long account of the state of literature in Poland ; and, finally,  
he

he edifies them with a long sermon upon the folly and wickedness of drunkenness, which ends with confessing that it is the production of a sinner, and with 'recommending this interesting subject to the ample consideration of some moralist, who might enrich his work with numerous examples of ancient and modern times, and might inculcate many precious maxims of *legislation*, ethics, and humanity.' When all these devices prove insufficient to swell out the volume to the requisite magnitude, he has recourse to two or three chapters of what he calls 'fragments' or 'small talk,' in which he puts down, without method or ceremony, all sorts of anecdotes and reflections that his memory or his common-place book can supply him with. For instance—

'Napoleon is an uncommon name, but it occurs in the "*Amours du grand Alcander*."

'The word *blagueur* seems immediately derived from the French word *blaguer*, to lie. A soldier will call a girl of the town a *blaguer*, or a *blagueresse*.

'On the 16th October 1804, strawberries were selling in Paris at twenty fous, or tenpence, a large pottle, sufficient for two persons. The means of prolonging the duration of this excellent and wholesome fruit well deserve the attention of our ingenious gardeners.

'Nature pays little honour to human reason, for she has not even trusted to it the care of our own bodies. The sustenance of the individual, and the continuance of the species, are not committed to our reason.' (II. 373-5.)

Upon the whole, we have seldom met with a more unsatisfactory or fatiguing performance than this, of which we are preparing to take leave; and should scarcely have ventured to trouble our readers with any account of it, if it had not been to record the extraordinary transformation which the author has undergone. We earnestly hope, that a few months residence among his friends in this country, will restore him to his original character; and that, in his next publication, we shall find him busy with historical and geographical researches, undisturbed by the nomenclature of French wines, or the recollections of French gallantry.

ART. XIV. *A General View of the Writings of Linnaeus.* By Richard Pulteney, M. D. F. R. S. *The Second Edition; with Corrections, considerable Additions, and Memoirs of the Author.* By William George Maton, M. D. F. R. S. F. S. A. *Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and a Vice-President of the Linnean Society of London. To which is Annexed, the Diary of Linnaeus, written by himself, and now Translated into English, from the Swedish Manuscript in the Possession of the Editor.* 4to. pp. 610. London. 1805.

As the public have been in possession of the first edition of this work since the year 1781, we shall confine our notices to the principal additions and alterations which Dr Maton's opportunities have enabled him to supply.

The particulars which he relates of Dr Pulteney, under the title of *Memoirs*, will easily admit of considerable compression. From this narrative, we collect, that Richard Pulteney, the only one of thirteen children who arrived at maturity, was born at Loughborough, on the 17th of February 1730. At a very early age, he imbibed, from his maternal uncle, a taste for natural history, and especially for the study of plants. Having completed his attendance at an elementary school, and subsequent apprenticeship to an apothecary, he commenced practice at Leicester, though with no very flattering prospects; for many of the inhabitants treated him with coldness and indifference, merely because he adhered to those Calvinistic tenets in which he had been educated.

In 1750, he became a contributor of articles, chiefly botanical, to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Some of his more extended communications, which were inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*, introduced him to the acquaintance and patronage of the Earl of Macclesfield and Sir William Watson, and procured him admission into the Royal Society in 1762. His friends, who could appreciate his character and attainments, regarded his sphere of life as much too humble and obscure, and exhorted him to take his degree of doctor in physic, and remove to the metropolis. In 1764, he accordingly obtained his diploma from the University of Edinburgh, though he had not in all respects complied with the academical regulations. His inaugural dissertation, entitled, *Cinchona Officinalis*, was deemed worthy of insertion in the *Thesaurus Medicus*.

Having now removed to London, Dr Pulteney was introduced, by the celebrated Mrs Montagu, to his relation the Earl of Bath, who appointed him physician to his person, with a handsome

some salary. The death of that nobleman, however, which happened very soon after, induced the Doctor to accept of a medical vacancy at Blandford, where, by his skill, prudence and honourable conduct, he soon established his professional reputation, and the independence of his circumstances.

Besides his view of the writings of Linnæus, he published, 'Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England, from its Origin to the Introduction of the Linnæan System.' These were at first intended as an Introduction to an abbreviated English Flora; but the author was reluctantly persuaded, 'by those who understood book-making better than himself,' to limit his publication to the Sketches. He likewise furnished some valuable materials for *Aikin's England Delineated*, *Nichols's History of Leicestershire*, and Gough's edition of *Hutchins's Dorsetshire*. He was in habits of correspondence with some of the most eminent botanists in Europe, excelled in conchology, and was no mean proficient in subjects more immediately connected with his profession. Such was the constancy of his application, that 'every visit that he made to a distant patient; every walk that he took in the vicinity of his own residence, furnished him with some new fact, or with some addition to his museum. He was in the habit of recording every plant he saw, either wild in the hedge-rows, or adorning the green-houses of his friends; and the principal contents of every cabinet he inspected were always noted down. In short, our indefatigable naturalist seems to have taken for his motto the maxim of his great master, Linnæus—"Nulla dies sine linea." The exhaustion, however, occasioned by unremitting labour of intellect, by long journeys, and sleepless nights, began to affect a constitution which was never vigorous, and, on the 7th of October 1801, induced an inflammation on the lungs, which proved fatal on the 13th of the same month.

With unwearied zeal in the prosecution of his favourite study, Dr Pulteney combined unfulfilled purity of manners, a generous independence of sentiment, unfeigned benevolence, and a marked abhorrence of bigotry and intolerance. To Mrs Pulteney, he bequeathed the bulk of his affluent fortune, to the Linnæan Society his valuable museum, and to the editor of the present work his botanical manuscripts.

In adverting to the principal portion of Dr Maton's editorial labours, it may be proper to remind our readers, that his predecessor disclaimed all pretensions to the character of a biographer, and that he incorporated, in the first part of his performance, only such particulars relative to the private life of his author, as might 'relieve the tediousness of a bare account of books, and connect,

connect, in a better manner, the series and occasion of his publications.' As he even regrets the scantiness of such notices, we cannot charge his learned editor, who has considerably multiplied them, with any deviation from the original design; yet such is the distribution of his materials, that when he acts in conformity to the views and wishes of his deceased friend, he anticipates some interesting passages of a subsequent part of the volume. In the event of a second impression of the book, we would submit to Dr Maton's consideration the propriety of moulding his materials anew, and exhibiting a regular view of the life and writings of the great Swedish naturalist. . . Even a separate and connected narrative of his life, illustrated by occasional extracts from his correspondence, and interspersed with suitable remarks, is still wanting, to supersede the clumsy and inaccurate pages of Stoeber, and the flimsy encomiums of the foreign Eloges. Linnæus, indeed, consumed months and years in silently poring over volumes and the productions of nature: but of the father of modern nomenclature, and of the man who, by his own exertions, rose from the condition of a beggar-boy to wealth, nobility, and fame, we are solicitous to know more than that he was studious and indefatigable; and, fortunately, more may be known. Some authentic details may be traced in his own writings, or in those of his pupils and followers. The president of the Linnæan Society possesses manuscripts which probably throw additional light on some parts of his life and character, and a curious collection of facts is annexed to the volume now before us. Without materially affecting the interest with which we peruse these memoranda, Dr Maton might certainly have furnished us with a more circumstantial recital of the Lapland Tour than has hitherto appeared. The consideration, however, that Dr Smith has destined the *Lachesis Lapponica* for the press, has probably restrained his pen.

We now hasten to announce, that our judicious editor has not only added to the biographical notices, but adopted such an arrangement of the critical remarks, as to preserve the order of chronology, and admit the regular incorporation of the requisite corrections. He, moreover, presents us with an entire, instead of a partial retrospect of the *Systema Naturæ*, with a complete tabular analysis of the *Materia Medica*, and with indications of volumes 8, 9, & 10, of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, which were published since Dr Pulteney composed his work.

\* Besides these more obvious additions, notices and observations are interspersed in various parts of the work, tending either to supply what the editor deemed improper to be omitted, or to perfect more nearly the author's original plan. Since Dr Pulteney wrote, there have been new editions of several of the works which he mentions; and improvements

ments in various parts of them have been so generally adopted by the Linnean school, as to require being distinctly noticed in a performance like the present. Hence, in *this* respect also, much additional matter has been introduced, serving to render the volume as complete a view of the existing state of Linnæan literature, as the editor's opportunities of information would permit. These opportunities have been greater, perhaps, than could be enjoyed elsewhere in the world; and if (as will too probably be the case) he should not be found to have employed them in a manner adequate to the expectations of the public, his claims to indulgence can be grounded only on the various avocations and duties necessarily attendant on an active profession. Sir Joseph Banks's kind permission to make use of his invaluable library; the accurate information and friendly assistance of Mr Dryander, one of the few surviving pupils of Linnæus; the communications with which he has been favoured by Dr James Edward Smith, possessor of the Linnean MSS., library, and museum; and various other advantages, the editor cannot acknowledge without peculiar satisfaction and thankfulness.' p. vii. viii.

We likewise learn, from a marginal note, that Professor Williams of Oxford permitted the editor to make use of the manuscripts belonging to the Botanical Library in that University.

Among the notices which Dr Maton has enlarged, and which might have invited him to still greater expansion, are those which relate to the travelling pupils of Linnæus, whom Dr Pulteney had despatched with dry and uninteresting brevity. Of the 9th and 10th volumes of the *Amœnitates*, to which Linnæus did not contribute, only the titles of the papers are given; but we should have been glad to see a more regular abstract of the 8th, both because its contents are so little known to the mere English reader, and because, when the Doctor indulges in a little dilatation, we recognize the superior interest of his analysis. We extract the following instance, for the benefit of all whom it may concern.

'Linnæus (as we have before remarked) derived great benefit, under the attacks of gout to which he was subject, from the use of strawberries. The present paper states particularly, in addition to a botanical history of the genus *Fragaria*, the circumstances under which that fruit proved of such singular service to our author, and which induced him to recommend it to arthritic patients in general. It appears, that about the end of June 1750, he experienced so violent an attack as to be unable to take either nourishment or repose for a fortnight; and he could not even keep his feet quiet two minutes at a time. The complaint passed from one foot to the other; into his hands, and also to other joints, affecting them with redness, swelling, and all the usual appearances. A plate of strawberries having been accidentally brought to him, whilst he was in this afflicted state, they proved to be the only article that was at all grateful to his palate; and after eating them he slept  
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some hours, the only time during the whole fourteen days of his illness. When he awoke, he ate more strawberries; and having again good sleep from midnight until the next morning, he found himself well enough to leave his bed, and in fact experienced no pain whatever, though the disease had of course debilitated him extremely. The following year, the gout came on again, about the same period; and our invalid being then at Drottningholm, his pale sickly countenance struck the Queen, who very condescendingly inquired what he would take? Linnaeus replied, "*Strawberries*," which were not to be procured. Her Majesty, however, ordered a plate of this fruit to be brought; and having eaten that quantity, he found himself well enough the next morning to go to court. The gout returned the *third* year (but in a much slighter degree than before), and was again cured by strawberries; and on its access the *fourth* and *fifth* times, at the same season in the succeeding years, the same occurrences took place, and they were remedied by the same means. The attacks gradually became less violent, and, by persevering in the use of this fruit every summer, they did not recur at all for nearly twenty years; indeed, we do not find that Linnaeus experienced a return of gout even *after* that interval.—It is no wonder, therefore, that the writer of this dissertation pronounces strawberries preferable to any medicine hitherto discovered, for the cure of arthritic disorders.

‘Two cases are mentioned, showing that, wholesome as strawberries are universally considered, they will notwithstanding act as a *poison* on some persons. They occasioned *syncope*, succeeded by a petechial effluence on the skin.’ p. 478—480.

With respect to the propriety of suppressing the tables and notes, annexed to the *Pan Suevus*, in the first edition, we must be allowed to entertain our doubts. Dr Maton's apology bespeaks his modesty; but ought it to be admitted? He tells us they are omitted, because ‘they would have required more numerous additions and corrections, to render them suited to the existing state of agriculture and rural economy, than the editor's knowledge of those branches qualified him to undertake.’ Yet, surely, it would have been better to have retained them in their unaltered form, than wholly to expunge them; or, perhaps, some friend, conversant in the details of husbandry, might have furnished the suitable amendments. The account of the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, and of some other works, is still too meagre and scanty, to convey adequate notions of their contents and merits. We are indeed aware, that the handsome size to which the volume has already attained, may be alleged as an objection to all the additional matters which we have taken the liberty to suggest: and, to speak plainly, we believe, with the Greeks of old, that a great book is a great evil: but a very inconsiderable reduction in the typography, and the omission of a long catalogue of the ge-

neric names of plants, (mere names without definitions), would have left room for the proposed insertions, without marring the shape and proportions of the volume.

Dr Maton laments that we have no view of the systems of botanists subsequent to Linnæus; but if our recollection be accurate, some such view may be found in Mouton-Fontenille's *Tableaux des Systèmes Généraux et Particuliers de Botanique*. Some notices may likewise be collected from Gerardin's *Tableau Élémentaire de Botanique*; and the improved arrangements of De Justieu's Natural Orders have been lately illustrated in four volumes octavo, by Jaumont St Hilaire.

Having stated, without reserve, the few strictures to which the present publication seems to be liable, we may venture to assert, that its merits greatly outweigh its defects; that it manifests candour, judgment, and diligence; and that it may be safely resorted to, as the most commodious and accurate *catalogue raisonné* of the Linnæan writings which has hitherto appeared.

To satisfy our readers of the authenticity of the extraordinary morsel of biography, annexed, under the title of the Diary of Linnæus, we shall employ the editor's own words.

At the latter end of the year 1799, M. Fredenheim, son of Dr Mennander, Archbishop of Upsala, conveyed (on certain conditions) to Robert Gordon, Esq. merchant at Cadiz, a variety of manuscripts to be printed in England. In consequence of the death of Mr Gordon, however, the publication did not take place in the manner intended; and the manuscripts, devolving to that gentleman's executors, were disposed of by them to the publisher of this volume, but not without the heirs of M. Fredenheim having been duly acquainted with all the circumstances of the transaction. Besides a considerable number of letters, written with Linnæus's own hand, to Dr Mennander, and some other papers, there is a folio manuscript book, containing about 80 pages, in the Swedish language, and entitled "*Vita Caroli Linnæi*," &c. M. Fredenheim's coat of arms is affixed to the inside of the cover; and on the page opposite to the first part of the Diary is a note, of which the following is a translation, viz.

"Right Reverend Bishop,

"The messenger will not wait until I have time to write. Be so good as to erase, alter, and add, *pro tua sapientia*."

"This note is explained by the following memorandum, found among the papers just alluded to:

"On the 22d of January 1770, the Archiater von Linné sent from Upsala his *Curriculum Vitæ* (in a very circumstantial form, and continued by him up to that time) to Bishop Mennander, who was then at the Diet, at Stockholm, with the following short *vehiculum*, written on the very document [*See above*.] This Life, which is further mentioned in the letters of the 29th of January, 1762, 30th of October, and

19th of November, 1769, and 24th of January, 1770, therein copied, and also separately preserved, together with a Latin translation (not completed) by my late father, and the genealogy of the family of Linné, made by the governor of the province, Baron Tilas, was dictated with all the ingenuous simplicity of Linné, and in some places interlined and corrected by himself. It is certainly the only life of him wholly composed by himself, and of course the most interesting and worthy to be published of all the other papers, among which are fifty-five letters to his most intimate friend from youth, who was fortunate enough to have chiefly contributed, if not towards rewarding this great man, at least towards encouraging him."

"The passages in the letters, referred to in this memorandum, are copied in the same handwriting (viz. that of M. Fredenheim) at the head of the Diary, and are to the following purport.

"I have here drawn up my own panegyric, and found that *propria laus sordet*. I should never have shown it to any body in the world, if not to the only one of all my friends, who has been unalterably such, from times when I was in less advantageous circumstances. If you should be pleased to extract any thing from it, my dear friend, it would attract notice, when coming from such a pen as yours. I am quite ashamed to lay it before you, and should never have done so, had I not been convinced of your friendship and uniform sincerity. — *Upsala, Jan. 29. 1762.*"

"(It would appear from this extract, that Linnæus had sent his memoirs to the Archbishop in the year 1762; but, if we may judge from a passage in another letter, quoted below, the Archbishop did not actually receive them until the 22d of January, 1770.)

"My principal object in wishing to see you at Stockholm, my dear friend, was to beg of you, who have shown the most sincere and constant friendship for me, to take the trouble (when you are at leisure) of writing, in Latin, my insignificant memoirs, which ought to be delivered to the French Academy, as I am *Ordinarius Extraneus Professor*; and, since age and attendant circumstances admonish me *colligere sarcinas*, the sooner this is done the better. — *Upsala, Oct. 30. 1769.*"

"I cannot mention my personal merits without some preface; for *propria laus sordet*, and self-love will here and there shew itself. — *Upsala, Nov. 19. 1769.*"

"The day before yesterday I sent, by a peasant, my *Curriculum Vitæ*, under cover to Archiater Däck. If he should not have already transmitted it to you, you will recollect that Archiater Bäck lives opposite the cannon-foundry yard, or the gate of it.

"If, when you return home, you should have time, be so good as to think of me. It was written at various intervals, and, of course, with various degrees of attention. Pray alter the shape of it in any way you please, as it is intended only to state facts. This will be the last service that can be rendered to me, who now see people of my time of life dropping on all sides. *Ego infelix socius resto.* — *Jan. 24. 1770.*"

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‘ These passages explain all the circumstances connected with Linnaeus’s Diary, and cannot require any comment.

‘ The Archbishop’s Latin translation extends no further than the year 1730, a period having been put to his undertaking by death. The English translation, published at the end of this volume, was made by Mr Troilius, a Swedish gentleman (now residing in London), of the same family with the late Archbishop von Troil, the well-known author of the *Letters on Iceland*. Both the style and the arrangement of the original are adhered to as closely as possible, and the Latin passages are given *verbatim*, in order that there might be no further deviation from Linnaeus’s own expressions than was absolutely requisite.

‘ Through the greater part of the Swedish manuscript, the handwriting is Dr Lindwall’s, who was a pupil of Linnaeus; but different hands are discoverable, and the materials appear to have been put together with very different degrees of attention. The writing is in some places difficult to be decyphered; in others the sense is obscure; and there is often (as the reader will observe) an abrupt transition, in the construction, from the third person to the first.

‘ The earliest letter in the collection is dated “*Upsala, 1734.*” and bears the following superscription, viz. *A Monsieur M. Charles Frideric Menander, Etudiant en Philosophie et Histoire Naturelle à Stockholm.*” The last letter is dated “*Upsala, Nov. 8 1775.*” In this interval, Linnaeus’s correspondent became Professor of Philosophy at Åbo, afterwards Bishop of that city, and lastly Archbishop, and Pro Chancellor of the University of Upsala. He appears to have been a very warm and affectionate friend, and to have assisted Linnaeus on various occasions essentially affecting his interests.’ Pref. p. x—xv.

It would greatly exceed our limits to dwell minutely on this curious document. As a register of dates and occurrences, it may form the basis of some future life of the author; but it abounds more in facts than in traits of genius or philosophical reflections; and, if we could fairly judge of the style through the medium of a literal translation, we should not hesitate to pronounce it singularly clumsy and repulsive. The principal events in the author’s life are first marshalled in chronological array, and are then more circumstantially related. He next recapitulates his lucubrations and discoveries in medicine, botany, zoology, lithology, the characteristics of his person, the stations and honours to which he was raised, the numerous learned societies of which he was a member, the titles of his writings, the flattering testimonies of authors, and the names of his pupils. In every page, the writer is the unblushing herald of his own praise, till at length he becomes quite disgusting, and convinces us of the melancholy truth, that his vanity at least kept pace with his science. His admirers may no doubt remind us, that he only records simple truths; and, in most instances, only deduces from

them such opinions as have been sanctioned by the suffrage of the public. The ancients, it may likewise be said, are authorities for this sort of sincerity. All this may be very true; but we feel that Cicero and Lælius would have appeared with greater dignity if they had boasted less of their own defects; and with regard to the latter in particular, we cannot help remarking, that the pursuits of the naturalist, which daily and hourly teach us how little we really know, and the insignificance of individual existence in the system of things, are eminently calculated to inspire us with humility.

In justice, however, to the celebrated Swede, it behoves us to remark, that he has not veiled the less brilliant parts of his subject, and that he states the circumstances of his poverty, and his susceptibility of irritation, with the same plainness that he commemorates the most flattering instances of royal favour. Even his large head and carious teeth are duly entered on record; and we are not allowed to be ignorant, that he had an obliterated wart on the right cheek, and another on the right side of the nose.

The occasional blending of Latin phraseology, or of learned and professional allusions, imparts a motley and pedantic aspect to the whole production. The following particulars, however, are interesting.

\* Carl Linnaeus was brought into the world between the hours of 12 and 1 in the night dividing the  $\frac{1}{2}$ d and  $\frac{1}{4}$ d of May 1707,—a delightful season of the year, in the *Calendar of Flora*, being between the months of *frondescentia* and *florescentia*. His parents received their first born with joy, and devoted the greatest attention to impressing on his mind the love of virtue, both in precept and example. The same thing that is said of a poet, "*Nasatur non fit*," may be said without impropriety of our botanist. From the very time that he first left his cradle, he almost lived in his father's garden, which was planted with some of the rarer shrubs and flowers; and thus were kindled, before he was well out of his mother's arms, those sparks which shone so vividly all his lifetime, and latterly burst into such a flame. But his bent was first decidedly displayed on the following occasion. He was scarcely four years old when he accompanied his father to a feast at *Mokles*, and in the evening, it being a very pleasant season of the year, the guests seated themselves on some flowery turf, listening to the pastor, who made various remarks on the names and properties of the plants, showing them the roots of the *Succisa*, *Tormentilla*, *Oreobiles*, &c. The child paid the most uninterrupted attention to all he saw and heard, and from that hour never ceased harassing his father with questions about the name, qualities, and nature of every plant he met with; indeed, he very often asked more than his father was able to answer; but, like other children, he used immediately to forget what he had learned, and especially

especially the *names* of plants: Hence the father was sometimes put out of humour, and refused to answer him, unless he would promise to remember what was told him. Nor had this harshness any bad effect, for he afterwards retained with ease whatever he heard. All the child's powers, both of mind and body, conspired to make him an excellent natural historian;—besides his retentiveness of memory, he had an astonishing quickness of sight.' p. 512. 513.

When a student at the university of Upsala, he informs us, that 'he was obliged to trust to chance for a meal; and, in the article of dress, was driven to such shifts that he was obliged, when his shoes required mending, to patch them with folded paper instead of sending them to the cobbler.'

Of his *Systema Naturæ*, he says it is 'a work to which natural history has never had a fellow.'—'In the year 1765, he worked at the 12th or last edition of the *Systema Naturæ*, and, the whole of the autumn, on the *Clavis Medicinæ*, which would have employed the most learned men for an age.'—'GENERA MORBORUM have not been so clearly defined by any one; there is not a single word in them that is not useful; his work on this subject is an excellent compend for a *tyro*.'

Are our masters of the healing art sufficiently grateful to Carl Von Linné for the following luminous improvements and discoveries?

'PATHOLOGY, the foundation of the whole medical art, and of all medical theory, has been more improved by *Linnæus*, in his *Clavis Medicinæ* of eight pages (which is a masterpiece in its way, and one of the greatest treasures in medicine), than by a hundred authors and books in folio.

'The *mechanical* physicians indeed had shown, that the action of the *Sapida* consists in *relaxing* or *constringing*, according to the nature of their taste; but neither the *species saporis*, nor their contraries, were explained,—much less the nature of the *Olida*. *Linnæus* was the first who saw that nature is balanced by contraries, and acted upon *numero quinario*. He saw that the Creator had given to animals two senses, viz. taste and smell.

'That the *Sapida* act only on the fluids and solids, or on the fibres.

'That the *Odora* act only on the brain and nerves.

'He found that *Vitia Corporea*, as well in the fluids as the solids, are only *five* in number.

'That the *Vitia Encephali*, vel *Systematis Nervosi*, are likewise *five*, each with the same number of contraries.

'He likewise found that the *Sapida* and *Odora* are also *five*, with as many contraries; and that the right indication results from a comparison of contraries with contraries. He proved this by examples. What can be stronger?'

'This *quintessence* of recondite knowledge is too strong, we are afraid, for the understanding of ordinary mortals; but 'the Lord was with' our knight of the polar star 'whithersoever he walked,'

and not only 'preserved him from fire, but led him with his own Almighty hand,' and 'permitted him to visit his secret council-chambers.' After this, we cannot wonder to find this illustrious person testifying of himself, that 'no person ever had a more solid knowledge of the three kingdoms of nature; so completely reformed a whole science, and created therein a new æra; became so celebrated all over the world; or sowed in any academical garden so many seeds!'

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ART. XV. *An Account of a Journey in Africa, made in the Years 1801 & 1802, to the Residence of the Boosbuana Nation, being the remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa, to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated. The Facts and Descriptions taken from a Manuscript Journal; with a Chart of the Route From Voyage to Cochin-China.* By John Barrow Esq. F. R. S. London. Cadell. 1806.

IN reviewing Mr Barrow's second volume upon Africa, in our eighth Number, we met with an allusion to the expedition of Messrs Trutter & Somerville; and, from the specimen given of their journal, we were inclined to think that the public sustained a considerable injury by its being withheld from the press. Mr Barrow, into whose hands the papers of those travellers were delivered, has very laudably supplied this defect; and, though he has not published the journals entire, he has given so full an account of their contents, as leaves us no room for desiring to see any more of them. This abstract he inserts (one does not exactly see why) in a large volume lately published by him, on the subject of Cochin-China, which we reserve for a future article. As a supplement to the discoveries in Africa, which we have had occasion to notice since the commencement of our labours, we shall here give our readers some account of this tract. It furnishes but few occasions for discussion or remark; but some of the facts which it contains, and some inferences to which these give rise, are deserving of our best attention.

This journey was undertaken by Mr Trutter, a member of the Cape judicature, and Mr Somerville, the garrison-surgeon, by the orders of the Governor, in order to discover whether any of the Hottentot tribes in the interior had a sufficient stock of cattle to furnish a supply to the colony, rendered necessary in consequence of the sickness and drought of the preceding season. They were accompanied by a draughtsman, secretary, and several Dutch boors,

boors, making in all twelve Christians, and were attended by twenty-four Hottentots and four slaves. They left the Cape in October 1801, and pursued a north-easterly direction, towards the country of the Bosjesmans. Of these wretched people they now and then met a few stragglers, always in a state of the utmost want, and begging a little supply of food to keep them from starving. They appear to be altogether the most miserable nation of which we have any account, not exceeded in penury even by the natives of Chili, whose sufferings from hunger are so picturesquely described by Biron in his voyage. Through this unhappy tract of desert the commissioners proceeded towards the Orange river. Their route was of course marked with but few incidents. But travellers through the sands of Africa usually do like geographers; and, for want of towns, are obliged to introduce wild beasts. Accordingly, our author breaks the dullness of his journey, by frequent anecdotes of the lions and elephants, who inhabit those districts, and of the adventures which the neighbouring colonists have at different times had with these fellow-occupants of the deserts. From time to time, too, some Dutch settlers were seen, wandering as they often do from place to place, without any fixed habitation. The following description of this class of colonists deserves to be extracted.

‘ In the midst of so extensive and dreary a desert, they’ (the travellers) ‘ were not a little surprised, though by no means an unusual thing, to meet with a Dutch boor of the name of Kok, who, with a waggon and his whole family, his slaves, his Hottentots, his cattle and his sheep, was travelling leisurely from the Orange river towards the skirts of the colony. The disinclination of these people to establish themselves on a particular spot, and to live in any sort of comfort, is very remarkable, and can only be explained on the principle of an irresistible charm which unbounded liberty and unrestrained possession exert on the human mind, and which operates most powerfully on him who has never known the pleasures of social life. It is a well known fact, that numbers of the French officers in America, led by the impulse of this principle, retired into the Indian settlements; threw aside their clothing, painted and tattooed their bodies, and became, in every respect, savages of a much worse description than the natives, by uniting with their new condition all the vices of civilized life. To rove about the desert wilds of Africa, to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on game procured by their Hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he is capable of enjoying.’ By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate and free exposure to air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size; and if suffered to continue their present uncontrolled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians on the southern extremity of Africa,



not inferior in stature to their tall brethren on the opposite coast of America. p. 369.

On arriving at the Orange river, which is exceedingly large for such a course, being the union of two branches, each six hundred yards wide, the travellers found on the opposite bank the Kora country, tolerably well peopled by a race of Hottentots, happy and rich in comparison with those Bosjesmans whom they had seen in crossing the desert. They had a stationary abode on the banks of the river, and were much less filthy than the rest of their race nearer the Cape, having, from the abundance of water, as Mr Barrow conjectures, no occasion to smear themselves like the rest of their countrymen in the desert. Their features, too, were better; their activity and ingenuity greater. They lived entirely on the produce of their flocks, and on wild berries, &c. having no vestiges of agriculture. The few metallic ornaments and utensils which they possess, were borrowed from the Caffres.

In pursuing their journey through the Kora country, the Commissioners met with several missionaries, particularly Mr Edwards and his family, and Mr Kicherer, sent out by the London Society. It does not appear, from the account of the missionaries themselves, that their laudable zeal, and pious labours, are likely soon to gain an exceeding great reward. They are preaching the most abstruse mysteries of our holy religion, to tribes of savages who can scarcely count ten; and inculcating a care of their immortal souls, to miserable creatures, who, with all their labour, can scarcely find subsistence for their bodies. The order of providence clearly recommends, that those children of penury should first get into easier circumstances, and then be made converts to religious tenets. In this part of Africa, the knowledge of the Deity's existence is either not to be met with, or, if found at all, is so obscure, and so much disfigured by brutal ignorance, as not to be easily recognized. And these are the people whom our missionaries, at a great misplaced expence, and with a most mistaken zeal, are endeavouring to make Christians; to persuade of the sublimest truths which the intellect of man can apprehend; to convince of the most refined doctrines, which the most enlightened understanding can receive. The account which these worthy men themselves give of their flock, is, indeed, a melancholy picture of the misapplication of their means and their zeal; and a convincing proof that, until the worldly comforts of the native Africans are somewhat extended, until their necessary wants, at least, are in some degree supplied, he shall labour in vain who tends their spiritual concerns, and shall throw away good seed among stones, and in dry places. The wretched state of manners and feelings, which

which the following passage describes, is clearly the result of excessive poverty, and proves, that the person who plants a colony in these countries, or introduces, by some other means, the arts which are subservient to common life, in its simplest forms, is the only missionary whose pains can ever be rewarded by the eventual conversion of the African tribes to the true religion.

"They take no great care of their children," says Mr Kicherer, "and never correct them, except in a fit of rage, when they almost kill them by severe usage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the several wives of a husband, the defeated party wreaks his or her vengeance on the child of the conqueror, which in general loses its life. The Bosjesmans will kill their children without remorse, on various occasions, as when they are ill-shaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to fly from the boors or others; in which case, they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. There are instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering be made to him. They also frequently forsake their aged relations, leaving the old person with a piece of meat, and an ostrich egg-shell full of water: as soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted creature must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts. Many of these wild Hottentots live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atrocious actions. Such," says he, "are the people, to whom the providence of God has directed our course." p. 378-9.

We should really pity the ignorance and the bigotry of any person, who, on reading this affecting passage, might be disposed to impute the wretched character here described, to any other cause than poverty and hardship, or to suggest, as a remedy, the introduction of a system of faith, or indeed any plan, but one which should tend to alleviate the physical wants of those unhappy savages. We cannot refrain from extracting the following very judicious and sensible remarks of Mr Barrow, himself well acquainted with the subject from personal observation. They contain a further description of the flock, upon whose spiritual welfare our missionary societies are squandering their zeal, and lavishing their funds: and they strengthen, very signal-ly, the preceding remarks upon these very pious and disinterested associations.

\* Setting aside the sheer nonsense of the lion roaring before the cavern, which the easy credulity of Mr Kicherer led him to believe as a fact, it is evident, on the face of the above statement, that the chief, and perhaps the sole, motive for destroying or abandoning the helpless and the destitute, the infants and the aged, is their extreme indigence.

Without any covering to protect his body from the vicissitudes of the weather, without possessions or property of any kind, except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjesman exists from day to day on what the fortune of the chase may throw within his reach, on a few bulbous roots which the barren soil scantily supplies, on the eggs of ants and the larvæ of locusts; and, when these all fail, he is glad to have recourse to toads, mice, snakes, and lizards. To satisfy the present craving of the stomach is his grand object; and this accomplished in its fullest extent, he seems to enjoy a short-lived species of happiness, which either shews itself in an exhilaration of spirits not unlike that which usually attends the first stage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound sleep. Among such a people, it is not surprizing that infants and aged persons should be left to perish. If the dread of pinching poverty, and the horrors of absolute want, are sufficient to urge the civilized Chinese to the commission of infanticide on their own offspring, it is the less surprizing that a similar, or a still more hopeless condition, should operate similar effects on the savage Bosjesman. Human nature is every where the same. When the Moravian missionaries first landed in Labrador, the same inhuman practice, though with the most benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives, of putting to death the widows and the orphans; not because it was an ancient custom, or that the shedding of human blood was agreeable to their nature, but for a much stronger reason: improvident of their own families, they could not be supposed to supply the means of support for the helpless orphan, or the desolate widow of another. And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians, over that of the Gospel missionaries, are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits; instead of building a church, they erected a storichouse. They caused this common store to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the rest to be appropriated solely to the use of the widows and the orphans; and having taught them the process of salting and drying the fish caught in vast multitudes in the summer months, the produce was collected into this general depository of their industry, to serve as a provision for the long and dismal winter which reigns in this inclement climate; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce, to be deposited in those of the widows and orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete success. From this time, a provision was made sufficient for the preservation of these desolate and helpless creatures. Thus the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into useful citizens, as well as good Christians, whilst the African Society has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman from the wild and savage state in which its zealous missionaries first discovered him. p. 379—381.

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The example of the Moravians, here cited, is very aptly introduced. The labours of that excellent and ingenious sect, are indeed deserving of the highest praise. They have, more than any other proselytizing institution or division of Christians, united wisdom with their pious earnestness to convert the heathen. They have not been so much occupied with contemplating the greatness of their object, as to neglect the only rational means of attaining it. They have practised upon the souls of their pagan flocks, by improving their worldly condition, and have dispensed, along with their preaching, the improvements of the present life, without which men never will prepare for a life to come.

From the Kora country the travellers proceeded in a northeasterly direction to that of the Booshuanas, or Bricquas, as some neighbouring tribes call them. The first thing which struck them on entering this district, was the great fertility of the soil; its abundance in various useful vegetables, and in good springs of water; and the plenty of game which it contained. They arrived at Lectakoo the capital, where the King resides, and were received by him with every token of hospitality and kindness. That city lies in latitude  $26^{\circ} 30'$  south, and longitude  $27^{\circ}$  east; contains about 2,000 houses, and upwards of 12,000 inhabitants. The houses are disposed without regularity; each is built in a circular form, and surrounded with a palisade; contains several apartments for the different branches of the family, who live separately; and is thatched very well, and not inelegantly, with reeds. For the sake of shade, the houses are generally built under large mimosas, the leaves and twigs of which are carefully protected from every injury. They live much on animal food, procured by hunting; on the milk of their cattle, and cultivate also a good deal of grain. In this work, the chief part, if not the whole, seems to devolve on the women. The men occupy themselves in the chase, in preparing skins for clothing, and in the care of the dairy of the tame cattle. The degree of civilization to which this nation has attained, may best be estimated from the following account of their comforts and luxuries.

But the Booshuanas are arrived at that stage of civilization, which is not satisfied with the mere necessities of life supplied to them abundantly from the three sources of agriculture, grazing, and hunting; they are by no means insensible of its conveniences and its luxuries. Their skin cloaks for the winter are pliant, soft and warm, being frequently lined with the fur-skins of tyger-cats, *viverras*, and other small animals; and when in summer they go without clothing, they rarely expose their bodies to the rays of the sun, but carry umbrellas made of the broad feathers of the ostrich fixed to the end of a stick. They

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vary their mode of dressing both animal food and grain; occasionally boiling, broiling, or roasting the former, and simply broiling the latter; or bruising it into flour, and boiling it up with milk. Among the luxuries of the appetite, tobacco seems to hold the highest estimation. Both men and women are passionately fond of drawing the smoke of this narcotic herb through water, poured usually into the horn of the cow or the *aland*, through the side of which the tube of the tobacco-pipe is inserted. Of snuff they are equally fond. This article is composed of a variety of stimulant plants, dried and rubbed into dust, which is usually mixed with wood ashes; of this mixture they take a quantity in the palm of the hand, and draw it into the nostrils through a quill or reed, till the tears trickle down their cheeks. Children even of four or five years of age may be observed taking snuff in this manner. Their bodies they carefully ornament with devices painted with white pipe-clay and red ochre; their hair they sometimes cut in a peculiar manner, leaving a high tuft on the crown of the head, not unlike the fashionable crops of the present day, to which is frequently appended the tail of a hare, or a distended bladder of this or some other small animal; or the wings of the Numidian crane are fixed erect on each side of the head. A triangular plate of copper is almost invariably suspended from one ear, and the teeth and the claws of lions and leopards are worn as necklaces. To these spoils of the chase, the men add rings of ivory, cut from the elephant's tusk, round the upper part of the arm; and the women use thongs of leather, sometimes plain, and sometimes decorated with beads and bits of copper, round the legs and arms. Every man had a knife slung about the neck by a leather thong, and fitted into a scabbard. The blade is generally about six inches long, an inch broad, rounded at the end, and brought to an edge on each side; the handle sometimes of wood, and sometimes of ivory; in the latter case, it is usually carved into the shape of the elephant's proboscis. The party had with them a quantity of common knives intended for barter, but the *Booshuanas* held them very cheap, observing that their own were at least twice as good, because they were made to cut with two edges, whereas those of the white people only cut with one. The knife, in fact, is so useful an instrument to such as live by the chase and on roots, that it may almost be considered as an article of the first necessity, and is valued accordingly. A *Booshuana* is accounted wealthy according to the number of cattle, knives, and beads he may possess: these are the money and the currency of *Loatikoo*.—p. 395. 396.

The government is of a patriarchal kind, the chief or king ruling by his personal authority with the tribe. He names his successor, and, on occasions of moment, consults the elders, who give him their own sentiments, and communicate to him those of the people. It appears that they have no system of religious institution, no form of public worship, and scarcely any notions of religion appear to have been traced among them. We are indeed told,

told, that they circumcise their male children, and dance in a circle the whole night of the new moon; and these practices are imputed to some religious motives, though we cannot discover for what reasons. Mr Barrow, in this interesting part of his abridgement, forakes the subject; and, instead of telling us precisely what facts the commissioners' journal records, he gets into a declamation about thunder showers, good and evil spirits, Jupiter, &c. with his usual love of fine writing, and his usual inability to write well. All his sentences on this topic are of a vague, sermonizing species, and bear no reference to the matter in hand. Indeed, were we to give our author a general advice for his government, in the great number of books which he writes, it should be, to curb his soaring genius; to keep himself a little more common, on common occasions; to learn, that true sense is shewn by him who does ordinary things in an ordinary way: and we should moreover insinuate, that his own flights are not only misplaced, but clumsy.

It is impossible to contemplate the picture of high comparative civilization which these accounts present to us of the Booshuana nation, without remarking how important a confirmation is derived from it, to all the enlightened and benevolent views of our best statesmen, regarding the present condition and future improvement of Africa. As we approach the interior, it would appear, of that vast continent, and leave the spots most favourable to civilization and improvement, we gradually come among tribes more refined and happy than those who inhabit the maritime districts. In other countries, the sea-coast is the scene of cultivation and wealth; it is the region of manners, of sciences, of arts. In Africa alone, the coast lies under a curse; it is covered with darkness, and a prey to disorder and wretchedness. Commerce, the great refiner and improver of other nations, is known to the tribes of the African continent only as the consummation of all evil—the great engine of barbarism—the arch enemy of man. To see him in his natural state, you must seek the places least favourable to his existence; you must leave the coast of the sea, and the banks of rivers, and traverse sandy wastes, which the enterprize of commercial avarice has never passed. In those deserts, you find, at vast distances from the abodes of other nations, and protected, by the surrounding sands, from the noxious intercourse of Europeans, spots of country made fertile by the industry of Africans—‘islands in the stormy waste,’ inhabited by a people, innocent when we cannot reach them to corrupt their morals—and happy, at such a distance as protects them from our violence and craft. Let it never be forgotten, that whether you penetrate into those remote countries from the western or the southern coast; whether

whether you trace the negro or the Hottentot race through their various gradations, you constantly find both in the enjoyment of more felicity, and the practice of more virtue, in proportion as you recede from those places where they are subjected to communication with the European colonists and traders, to the horrors of the slave trade, and the brutal oppressions of the Cape settlers. These observations derive considerable illustration from the very judicious statements of Mr Barrow on the subject, contained in the following passages, which we extract the more willingly, because they do him much more credit for liberality than many of his general reflections are wont to do.

\* To know that such societies exist in this miserable quarter of the globe, as those above described, must be peculiarly interesting to those who have long been exerting their eloquence and their influence to meliorate the condition of the suffering African. They furnish a complete refutation of an opinion that has industriously been inculcated, and which unfortunately is but too prevalent, that slavery is his unalterable lot, and that it would still exist, as it always had existed, were Europeans to discontinue their abominable traffic in these unhappy creatures. Such an opinion, in justification of a crime against humanity, is just on a level with that of a Dutch boor, who told Governor Janfen, on remonstrating with him on his cruelty towards the Hottentots, that there could be no harm in maltreating those heathens, as the women evidently carried about with them the mark which God set upon Cain. Not one of the tribes of natives between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been discovered in the interior of Southern Africa—not a single creature, from the needy and savage Bosjesman to the more civilized *Boschuana*, has the most distant idea of a state of slavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full enjoyment of unbounded freedom. There is no compulsion used among these people, to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which he belongs, contrary to his inclination; being always at liberty to depart with his property, and join another society that may suit him better. Even in war, the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.

\* How far to the northward the country continues to be inhabited by free Kaffer tribes, remains yet to be determined; but the extent, it is to be feared, is not very great. It appears that the Portuguese slave-merchants have at length effected a communication across the continent, from Mosambique to their settlements of Congo and Loango on the opposite coast; from which it may be inferred, that the line of slavery extends at least as far to the southward as the twentieth degree on the eastern, and to the fifteenth or sixteenth on the western coast. It is probable, however, that, in the central parts of Southern Africa, the land of freedom may stretch much beyond the parallels where slavery prevails on the coast. The *Barraloos*, from the above account, cannot be placed to the southward of the tropic of Capricorn; and it is not very probable that a nation having made such progress as they are represented

represented to have done, should border immediately on a nation of slaves. Thus, though Soffala, Mosambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, on the eastern coast, and Congo, Loango, Benguela, and Angola, on the western, have long been doomed to all the evils and horrors of slavery, yet it is possible that the *Biri* and *Baroras* of the charts, in the heart of the continent, may be a continuation of the same free and happy people as the *Booshuanas* and *Barroloos*, the former of whom extend easterly even to the bay of De la Goa, where the Portuguese have in vain endeavoured to introduce among them a traffic in slaves. Luckily for the Kaffer nation, neither the Portuguese on one side, nor the Cape boors on the other, have yet been able to convince them, that one set of men were created to be sold like cattle for the pleasure and the profit of another.' p. 405.—6.

After residing some time at Leetakoo the capital, the commissioners made a tour through several districts of the Booshuana country, and visited a number of other towns. Every where they found the same orderly, innocent, and happy people. But it is very much to be lamented, that they suffered themselves to be deterred from proceeding into the country of the Barroloos, lying to the north of the Booshuanas. This they very imprudently, we had almost said thoughtlessly desisted from, in consequence of certain representations of the King of Leetakoo, who appears to have prevented their journey from motives of policy. Afterwards, when it was too late to return, they found that he had imposed on their credulity, that the Barroloos were the best disposed and most hospitable of all the African tribes,—much more numerous and civilized than the Booshuanas,—more wealthy and ingenious. They were said to have made no small progress in the arts,—to have furnaces for smelting copper and iron,—to be skilful in carving ivory and hard woods,—to have one city so large that it was a day's journey to walk through it. The commissioners were very much to blame, when, within two day's march of so interesting a country, they stopt short on account of the King of the Booshuanas telling them some stories, under circumstances which, even to themselves, must have given the whole a very suspicious appearance (See p. 400.) Men who suffer themselves so easily to be taken in or intimidated, are not made of the stuff of which travellers should be moulded, who undertake to explore unknown countries. And Messrs Trutter and Somerville were the more culpable on this occasion, that they not only were called upon to push as far as possible our knowledge of those new tribes, but bore a commission from the government to effect a certain purpose, subservient to the public interest. Their imprudent conduct not only frustrated the just curiosity of their countrymen, but rendered nearly abortive the whole object of their expedition.

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They returned nearly by the same route by which they had gone, and the narrative of their adventures does not merit further abridgement. It is interspersed with incidents of a common description, and only diversified by the account of the adventures of Stephanos, a Polish refugee, who, after committing all sorts of crimes, set up for a robber; which trade not thriving well in so poor a country, he exchanged it for that of a prophet; persuaded the natives that he was the founder of a new religion, and then set up for a god at once, till the pursuit of the officers of justice forced him to fly and resume his old and human vocation of a freebooter. The latter part of this work is, with the exception of this man's adventures, naturally dull; and Mr Barrow has thought fit to render it still more so, by introducing a long digression on the practice of *pithing* cattle, or killing them by piercing the spinal marrow. This he reprobates and refutes, by quoting long reports of experiments made in our naval victualling houses; from all which he draws the following patriotic and sentimental inference, that 'it is to be hoped that, while Britons have firmness of nerve to face an ox, and strength of muscle to grasp the pole-axe,' they will never slaughter their cattle by the new mode of *pithing*.

The travellers returned to the Cape safely about the middle of April, having been absent on their painful and perilous expedition upwards of six months.

**ART. XVI.** *A brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed in the Year 1795 by the yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c. for promoting the Improvement and gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives.* London. Phillips & Fardon. 1806.

**T**HE Indians of North America, like almost all the savage tribes, among whom more civilized nations have settled, owe very few obligations to their European neighbours. After attacking them in open war, exterminating a great part of their race, attempting to enslave the rest, and, either by violence or by fraud, getting possession of their lands, the new settlers have always multiplied so rapidly, and spread so regularly over the face of the American forests, that the natives, whose only subsistence was derived from the chase, have soon found their sole occupation becoming more and more unproductive, as the encroachments of the Europeans advanced. While the diminution of their supplies was thus sowing the seeds of decay, the lessons which

which they learnt from their new neighbours, drunkenness, and other excesses, with several diseases which they imported, tended to accelerate their utter extinction. It appeared, indeed, quite obvious, that if the Indians did not, by imitating the whites, learn new habits and occupations, their race, in a few years, would be completely destroyed.

From these considerations, a duty devolved upon the European settlers, which several bodies of men, in the United States, seem to have felt extremely urgent. They were called upon to contribute as much as lay in their power towards the alleviation of the sufferings which their own increased prosperity was daily entailing upon the original and rightful proprietors of the country. They were called upon to prevent, if possible, the utter extinction of a race, which their own progress in wealth and in numbers, was constantly depriving of the means of subsistence. Accordingly, various plans were adopted with this view, sometimes by the government, sometimes by individuals, and public bodies. Pensions were granted to certain tribes, whose hunting had been destroyed by the clearing of the forests. Such a relief, unaccompanied by any change in their character and habits, was at best but temporary, and, in the end, rather did evil than good; for the same people who bestowed the annuity, had taught the Indians to drink, and continued to supply them with spirituous liquors; the temptations of which, those savages had not fortitude to resist. Another means adopted, with somewhat more wisdom, was the employment of Missionaries among them, for the purpose of converting and instructing them. But this plan was involved in one radical mistake, and was also injudiciously pursued. The Indians had a religion of their own, to which, as the inheritance of their ancestors, they were strongly attached. The evils of their situation lay not in the errors of their faith, but of their practice. They might be converted to Christianity, without leaving off the habits of the hunting state; and it by no means followed, that their growth in grace must be attended with a proportionate improvement in the arts of common life. Yet the missionary scheme hinged entirely on religious points. Its object was to send a multitude of preachers among the Indians;—to preach them, not out of their ignorance and idleness, but out of their theological errors;—to convert them, not to the life of husbandmen and shepherds, but to the knowledge of the life to come. Add to this, that the missionaries who could be found, in a country so little prone to any but commercial and agricultural labours as America, were necessarily zealots,—persons of narrow views,—ignorant and superstitious, and ill tempered;—and, in the affairs of this world,

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idle. They had no success at all. They preached the gospel to men already satisfied with their spiritual condition, and only anxious for food and raiment;—they despised, and intolerantly cried down all the notions held sacred by a people as prejudiced and bigotted as themselves;—they recommended sobriety as a religious duty, to men whose former faith did not prohibit the use of strong liquors, and whose tastes all pointed to bodily intoxication, as a greater blessing than the holy raptures of their new instructors. Thus the missionaries always quarrelled with their flocks, and made but few converts; nor, among these, produced any real improvement.

The instruction of the Indians in schools, among the Europeans settled at the great towns, was another method which was adopted with the same view, and with no better success. After receiving in part the education, and in whole the vices, of civilized life, those pupils returned to their naked and hunting brethren, from corruption the most profligate, and from necessity the most idle, members of the Indian community. They found a society in the woods, to which they originally belonged by blood, but for the manners and pursuits of which they had been altogether incapacitated by education. We need go no further, to illustrate the absurdity of this plan of inoculating the Indian tribes with civilization, than the remarks of a person in this predicament. He had been educated at Princetown; and, upon being asked by an American commandant in the neighbourhood of his tribe, why his countrymen continued so perversely addicted to a savage life, he replied, 'It is natural that we should follow the footsteps of our forefathers; and when you white people undertake to divert us from this path, you teach us to eat, drink, dress, and write like yourselves, and then turn us loose, to beg, starve, or seek our native forests, without alternative; and, outlawed from your society, we curse you for the feelings you have taught us, and resort to excess, that we may forget them.'

Such having been the necessary consequences of the feeble and ill-planned attempts, both of Government and other societies, to civilize the Indians, we had begun to despair of ever seeing this laudable undertaking prosper. Men seemed resolved (as appears from the foregoing statement, which we have prefixed to the present article, as a proper introduction) to begin at the wrong end, and to neglect the only plain and simple method by which those savage tribes ever can be reclaimed from their barbarism, or made the partakers, and not the victims of the civilization that surrounds them. Happily our fears have proved groundless. The people called Quakers, a society, in many respects, by far

far the most meritorious and amiable among our religious sects, seems to have solved the problem; and, by a close attention to the principles above sketched out and alluded to in a former article, (*Barrow's Account of a Journey in Africa*) they appear to have laid a very solid foundation for the rapid civilization of those unhappy natives. The little tract now before us, contains a plain, unvarnished detail of their benevolent and most judicious proceedings. It was printed originally in Philadelphia, and is now reprinted in London. We trust it will meet with due attention, as it is, in fact, one of the most interesting publications which has appeared of late years. We shall now present our readers with a short account of what the Quakers have done. The scene of their operations was among the Indians of the Five Nations, who inhabit a tract of country about 300 miles north-west from Philadelphia; and of these nations, the experiments now to be described, were performed on the Oneidas and Senecas.

The Quakers appear to have proceeded upon the fundamental assumption, that the only means of civilizing those tribes, and indeed of preserving their existence, must be sought in a well planned attempt to reclaim them from the precarious and idle life of hunters. For this purpose, they conceived that the settlement of a few missionaries among them was absolutely necessary. But the missionaries whom they chose, were not preachers; they were artizans—carpenters, blacksmiths, and ploughmen. They likewise imagined that a very small number of such persons, chosen for their quiet conduct and industrious regular habits, and sent to settle among the Indians without parade or pomp, would do more good than the most splendid scheme of colonization, by means of the greatest and wealthiest body of settlers. Example was to be their great engine—and example, they well knew, works slowly, gradually, and quietly.

Proceeding upon these principles, they waved, for the present, every idea of converting the Indians to Christianity. The remarks of the committee, to whose care we owe this publication, are peculiarly judicious and enlightened upon this point. 'It is probable,' they observe, 'that some readers may think every scheme of civilization defective, that does not immediately attempt to plant Christianity. Of the infinite value of Christianity, our Pennsylvanians are doubtless aware; but here, though they are not directly acting the part of missionaries, they are preaching religion by example; and are probably preparing the Indians, by more means than one, for the reception and acknowledgment of the gospel.'

Their first step was to address circular letters to the different

tribes in 1796, accompanied by one from the executive government of the United States, expressive of its approbation. The letters merely contained an offer to instruct such as should apply to them, in husbandry. The Oneidas were the only tribe that at first made the application; and accordingly three Quakers repaired to their country, and settled there. At first, the natives were quite averse to labour of every kind; and the Quakers only cultivated their own ground, and worked a saw-mill for themselves. By degrees their example had its effect, and the use of the saw-mill and grist mill became familiar to the tribe. In winter they opened a school for the children; and in summer they found the Indians beginning to assist their wives in cultivating little pieces of ground—a labour which had formerly devolved entirely on the latter. The want of a blacksmith being very greatly felt, a Quaker of that profession volunteered his services to settle there; and his wife accompanied him, to instruct the Indian girls. A number of the young men were hired and boarded by the Quakers to assist them in working. The spirit of labour and taste for husbandry became more prevalent: the blacksmith's business was generally attended to: the women learnt to sew and spin. Implements of husbandry were judiciously and sparingly distributed. The use of these was acquired; and, in 1799, the natives began to clear lands for themselves, and sow wheat.

Having proceeded thus far in reclaiming the tribe from the hunting state, and its attendant misery and idleness, an incident occurred, which displays, in a remarkable manner, the happy mixture of judgment with which the promoters of this admirable plan tempered their zeal. The whites of other sects had not failed to spread abroad stories unfavourable to the scheme of the Quakers; and the Indians, naturally mistrustful, like all savages, began to entertain suspicions that those surmises were well-founded. They knew that the labours of the Quakers must have cost money; and, as they never before saw any example of Europeans working for nothing, they suspected that the new settlers had a design of making a permanent establishment, and then laying claim to their lands. As soon as this notion came to the ears of the Quakers, they resolved to withdraw instantly, and leave the natives in the natural course of improvement, to benefit by the civilization which they had already planted among them. After a residence of three years, therefore, they disclosed their intentions in a council of the nation; and they left the place, accompanied by the unanimous thanks and good wishes of those rude tribes. A similar instance of suspicion afterwards occurred, and it was allayed with equal judgment. The Indians of another tribe having received many benefits from them, were afraid lest repayment

repayment should be demanded at some future time. A speedy and frank explanation from men whose honesty they never had even reason to doubt, at once allayed these apprehensions.

The observation of what had been done among the Oneidas, induced the Senecas to send an invitation, requesting a similar assistance from the society. Three Quakers immediately repaired thither: they were welcomed with great joy; and thanks were given by the nation to the Great Spirit for their safe arrival among them. Here, as in every other hunting tribe, the women and girls are left to the labour of rearing such vegetables as their husbandry affords, and in hewing timber for fuel. The chase, and amusements of different sorts, occupied the men and boys. The Quakers exhorted them constantly to give up such practices; and never failed to set before them, in the strongest light, the necessity both of general industry and temperance; a virtue almost unknown among the Indians at the commencement of the Quaker missions. The progress of improvement in the arts and comforts of life, uniformly kept pace with the disuse of spirituous liquors; and, among the speeches and other communications of thanks from the chiefs of the tribe to the society and its emissaries, never fail to mark the state of morals, and especially of sobriety, among the natives. The sketch of improvement given above, relative to the Oneidas, is also applicable to its history among the Senecas. But we shall be excused for extracting the following discourse, delivered by the Quakers to those Indians in a council. It is, in our apprehension, the very model of a right missionary sermon. We shall also subjoin the answer of the chief.

“ Brothers,

“ It has afforded us satisfaction, in passing through your town, to notice marks of industry taking place; that you are building better and warmer houses to live in; and that so much of your cleared land is planted with corn, beans, potatoes, &c.; and to see these articles kept in good order.

“ Brothers, we observe, where your new houses are building, that the timber is very much cut off a rich flat, which we wish you encouraged to clear and make fit for ploughing. We hope more of your men will assist in clearing and fencing land, and planting it with corn; also sowing it with wheat; you will then have a supply of provision, more certain to depend upon than hunting.

“ Brothers, we are pleased to see your stock of cattle increased. The rich bottoms on the river will be plenty for them to live on in the summer season; but, as your winters are long and cold, it will require something for them to live on in the winter. The white people keep their cattle on hay, on straw, and on corn fodder. Straw you cannot get until you raise wheat or other grain; the rich bottoms, if you in

order, would produce a great deal of hay. But, for an immediate supply, we think, that, as soon as you gather the corn, if you would cut the stalks close at the ground, bind them up in small bundles, and put them in stacks, as our young men do, they would keep your cattle part of the cold weather.

"Brothers, we are pleased to see a quantity of fence made this summer, and we would not have you discouraged at the labour it takes; for, if you will clear a little more land every year, and fence it, you will soon get enough to raise what bread you want, as well as some for grazs, to make hay for your cattle in winter.

"Brothers, we understand you are desirous to discourage whisky from being brought among you, with which we are much pleased, and should be glad you could entirely keep it away. To get it, you give your money with which you should buy clothing, oxen," &c.

The Indians were also informed that one of the young men, who had been there since the settlement was first formed (about sixteen months), appeared most easy to leave them and return to his friends before winter. They hoped another would offer to supply his place.

Cornplanter, on behalf of the nation, made a reply, in substance, as follows:

"That, when our young Friends first settled among them many of his chiefs were averse to it; but they had this summer several councils among themselves respecting the young men; and all the chiefs seeing their good conduct and readiness to assist Indians, were now well satisfied. He hoped several of his young men would do more at farming than heretofore; and Friends must not be discouraged because so little was done; but exercise patience towards them, as it was hard for them to make much change from their ancient customs. He regretted the loss of the Friend who expected to leave them soon; he said he had been useful to him in keeping whisky, and other strong liquor, out of the town; that they now drank much less than formerly; but feared, when the Friend was gone, he should not keep it away so well as he had lately done." p. 18-21.

We add the following passage, as an interesting account of the progress of a barbarous nation from rudeness, in one of the grand circumstances which distinguishes the civilized from the barbarous state of society.

In the ninth month of this year, \* three of the committee visited the settlement, being accompanied by a young Friend, a blacksmith, who went to instruct some of the Indians in that useful and necessary occupation. Two of the visitors had been there before. The preceding spring, the Indians first began to use a plough; and the men performed the labour with a little instruction and assistance from Friends. They took a very cautious method of determining whether it was likely to be an advantageous change for them or not. Several parts of a very  
large

large field were ploughed; and the intermediate spaces prepared by their women with the hoe, according to ancient custom. It was all planted with corn; and the parts ploughed, besides the great saving of labour, produced much the heaviest crop; the stalks being more than a foot higher, and proportionably flouter, than those on the hoed ground. The corn was now ripe and gathering in; and as their stock of cattle was much increased, instead of letting the stalks and hay perish on the ground as heretofore, they preserved them for winter fodder. Several of them had mown grass, and made small stacks of hay; and they had made a fence about two miles long, which encloses the lower town, and a large body of adjacent land fronting on the river; also several other fences within it, to separate the corn ground from the pasture, &c.

‘ The cabins which they used to live in, were generally either gone to decay, or pulled down. Most of them had built good log houses with shingled roofs, and some of them with stone chimneys.

‘ With the exception of houses and fences, the improvements at Jeneshadago did not bear a comparison with the upper settlements, where the Indians live more scattered. Their thus settling separate and detached from each other, was already manifestly more to their advantage than living together in villages. A chief, who is not ashamed to be seen at work by the women of his own family, would probably be much mortified, were he discovered by a number of females, who, on such occasions, do not always refrain from ridicule. Yet this false shame on the part of the men, and ridicule of the women, is wearing away, in proportion as they become familiarized to each other’s assistance in their little agricultural labours.

‘ Friends requested a council with the chief women of the Jeneshadago town, which was readily granted, when they were favoured to make some communications pertinent to their situation. The women expressed their thankfulness to the Great Spirit for affording them this council; the words, they said, had sunk deep into their hearts, and they hoped would never be forgotten by them. Cornplanter and his brother Conedieu were present.

‘ The Indians were become very sober, generally refraining from the use of strong drink, both at home, and when abroad among the white people. One of them observed to our committee, “ No more bark cabin, but good houses; no more get drunk here now this two year.” p. 24, 25, 26.

We shall only add one proof more of the progress which industry had made among these tribes by the laborious and judicious example of the Quakers. A single tribe had formed a road of twenty-two miles in length; and a few families in one place had cleared and fenced sixty acres of good land.

It is impossible to contemplate the signal success which has attended these experiments, without remarking that it was owing in part to the character of the Quakers, as well as to the



wisdom of the plans which they here adopted. The general reputation of that sect for peacefulness and honesty, and the quiet manners of those whom they sent to reside among the Indians, could not fail to disarm any repugnance of the savage natives towards strangers, and to conciliate their confidence and esteem. Even their taciturnity was favourable to the end in view. 'Your young men,' said a chief in one of their councils, 'do not talk much to us; but when they do, they speak what is good, and have been very helpful in keeping us from using spirituous liquors.' Their punctual performance of engagements, and the regularity of all their habits had the same good effects in gaining the respect of the Indians. 'Brothers,' said they in a conference which had been held for the purpose of explaining some differences, 'Brothers, we are well satisfied with your conduct towards us. You have always done what you promised.' We subjoin the following anecdote as illustrative of the influence which the character of the sect has had on the success of their experience, and as interesting in itself. 'In the evening, when Friends were sitting with the chief warrior, he said he wished to ask them a question, but was almost afraid. They desired him to speak, and they would give him such information as they were able. It was, Do the Quakers keep any slaves? He was told, They did not. He said he was very glad to hear it; for if they had kept any, he could not think so well of them as he now did. That he had been at the city of Washington last winter on business of the nation, and found many white people kept blacks in slavery, and used them no better than horses.'

From these causes, as well as from the admirable discretion and sound sense which directed the formation of their plans, this small society of Quakers have, at an expence inconceivably trifling, secured the civilization of the Indian tribes, and laid the foundation of their entire conversion to the state of peaceful and industrious husbandmen, from that of wandering and turbulent and idle hunters. The missionaries left those children of their care mutually satisfied with the progress and result of their labours. For the first time Europeans had resided among them with no interested ends in view,—for the first time they had learnt no bad lesson, and received no injury from their intercourse with more polished communities,—for the first time since the voyage of Columbus, a stranger and a friend became compatible appellations,—the natural antipathy to new faces vanished in the course of further acquaintance,—and he who had been welcomed with distrust, was only suffered to depart with tears. The Indian tribes view the departure of the Quaker missionaries as a national calamity, and are not afraid to consult with their society on all matters of general import.

ART. XVII. *A Complete Collection of Tables for Navigation and Nautical Astronomy: with simple, concise, and accurate Methods for all the Calculations useful at Sea; particularly for deducing the Longitude from Lunar Distances, and the Latitude from two Altitudes of the Sun, and the Interval of Time between the Observations.* By Joseph de Mendoza Rios Esq. F. R. S. London, printed by T. Bensley. 1805.

**I**N every long and complicated process of arithmetical calculation, many steps necessarily occur that are common to it, and to an infinity of other processes of the same kind. These steps, of course, when performed in any one instance, may be of use in all others; the results, if preserved, may very much abridge the labour of all similar calculations that are afterwards to be made, and when properly extended and arranged in tables, may produce a saving of time and trouble which is almost incalculable, and which greatly resembles the advantages gained by the division of labour in the mechanical arts.

Thus, in the common operations of trigonometry, the sines and tangents are numbers useful for all computations. Therefore, when once determined and arranged in tables, so as to be easily found out, they never require to be calculated again. By this obvious device, the work of trigonometry becomes very easy, which, if every sine and tangent were to be computed from the beginning, whenever it is wanted, would be quite intolerable; and even if men had the patience, they would want time to carry on their researches to any considerable extent.

Hence, the exact separation of those parts of a calculus that must be performed for every new case which occurs, from those that are the same in many cases, and that admit of being computed once for all, is of great importance when we would save time and labour, and, above all, when we would render the difficult processes of arithmetical calculation practicable to those who are not much instructed in mathematical science. For this last purpose, the use of tables, combined with the simplification of rules, has actually produced such effects as the most sanguine projector, half a century ago, would not have ventured to foretell.

To ascertain the longitude of a ship at sea by lunar observation, is a problem that has required the utmost efforts of genius to resolve. The extent of the reasonings, from the first axioms of geometry to the conclusion at last obtained, is of astonishing magnitude, embracing all the profounder investigations of geometrical, arithmetical, and physical science; yet so simple is the rule deduced from them, that in any given instance, the problem can

now be resolved by any one who is tolerably versed in the elementary operations of arithmetic.

For the purpose of reducing this and the other problems of nautical astronomy within the power of ordinary navigators, no work that we know of is better calculated than that which has just been announced. The collection of tables is so complete, that nothing seems wanting in it which the present state of science can supply. Besides this, it has several advantages that appear to us to be peculiar, and which we therefore think it our duty to point out.

It is well known to calculators, that when numbers are to be taken out of tables, the computation of what are called the *proportional parts* constitutes the most troublesome part of the work.

As the tables, of whatever sort they are, cannot contain all the numbers that may be wanted, it becomes often necessary to *interpolate* a number between two that are contiguous in the table; and to be enabled to do this with ease, and at the same time with accuracy, is, in all such calculations, a matter of the greatest importance. When the interval between the contiguous *arguments* in the table is so small, that the numbers corresponding vary at a pretty uniform rate, the interpolation is made by the rule of three, or by supposing the differences of the numbers to be proportional to the differences of the *arguments*. But even when the thing is reduced to this degree of simplicity, the constant recurrence of an operation which produces in the mind a diversion from the main object of the calculus, becomes the most tiresome and embarrassing part of the work. To avoid this as much as possible, the contiguous *arguments* must be made to differ very little, so that the corresponding numbers may differ very little also,—as by a few units in the last figure, or in the last but one,—so that the proportional part may be so small, that, if it cannot be wholly neglected, it may yet be taken out at sight, or estimated without any thing that can be called a calculation. The author of the work before us has been extremely attentive to this circumstance; and his tables are so contrived, that the labour of computing proportional parts is in most cases entirely avoided. Thus, in the table of sines, &c. the sine is given not merely to every minute of the semicircle, but to every quarter of a minute, so that the proportional part belonging to any intermediate number of seconds, (as the sines are given only to five decimal places), is very easily obtained. This requires, however, that the table should be larger than the common one, as in effect it contains four times as many numbers; and hence it is, that these nautical tables form a larger volume than any former collection. That inconvenience, however is much more than compensated by the advantages which result from it.

The two great nautical problems, to the solution of which these tables are peculiarly directed, viz. finding the longitude from lunar observations, and finding the latitude from two altitudes of the sun, and the time between the observations, are here resolved by new and simple rules, that do great credit to the ingenuity and invention of the author. These two problems, it must be observed, are rendered difficult, not merely by the abstruseness of the principles on which they depend, but from the peculiar circumstances in which they must be resolved, and the condition of those to whom the practical solution must be entrusted. The methods of solution that are of practical utility, are thus limited by considerations not involved in the problem itself, to which it is nevertheless of the utmost importance to attend. Hence, the solutions of problems, which, theoretically speaking, are not of the greatest difficulty, may become extremely perplexing in practice, when the means or instruments of solution are already prescribed, and a new condition by that means introduced. For example, as logarithms must always be used in trigonometrical calculation, a great number of trigonometric theorems, that lead to solutions very simple in themselves, must be rejected, as not easily used when logarithms are to be the instruments of calculation. Accordingly, the inventor of logarithms soon perceived, that the known rules of spherical trigonometry, however good in themselves, gave very complicated solutions when logarithmic calculation was employed; because theorems to which they are easily applicable, must express the value of the thing wanted in terms of quantities combined by multiplication and division, but not by addition and subtraction. Lord Napier, therefore, set about investigating such properties of spherical triangles as might have this character; and, with that felicity which can only accompany original genius, he soon fell on the trigonometrical theorems that bear his name, and that have added so much to the value of his first discovery.

A difficulty somewhat similar has embarrassed mathematicians in the solution of the nautical problem, of clearing the observed distance of the moon from a fixt star of the effects of parallax and refraction. This problem, of no great difficulty abstractedly considered, has nevertheless exercised the genius of many of the first mathematicians for the last fifty years; because, not only was a solution required that might easily adapt itself to logarithmic computation, but one also that might be practised readily, and without danger of error, by men little conversant with the sciences of algebra or geometry. A question of the nature of *maxima* and *minima*, thus arose, viz. *Out of the possible solutions of a problem, to find that which is best adapted to men who*  
*must*

*craft use certain instruments of calculation, and whose knowledge of the mathematics is confined within determinate, and often very narrow limits.* In this adaptation of scientific discovery to the practice of art, nobody appears to us to have been more successful than M. Mendoza, in the case of which we now speak. His solution of the problem, with the assistance of his tables, appears to us to be simpler than any with which we are acquainted, and probably approaches very near to the utmost degree of conciseness which, consistently with accuracy, is possible to be attained. The demonstration of the solution is not given in this volume, which is confined to matters purely practical; but we hope it will hereafter be communicated. We understand it to be grounded on a solution of the problem published several years ago by the author, in a memoir printed at Madrid, and afterwards in his *Recherches sur les principaux Problemes de l'Astronomie Nautique*, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1797.

The other problem, of finding the latitude from two observed altitudes of the sun, and the interval of time between the observations, though it does not refer to circumstances that occur in navigation every day, yet it is a valuable resource with which the navigator ought not to be unacquainted, if he would have the practice of his art to be as independent as possible on accidental circumstances.

This problem, however, is in its nature not a little complicated, requiring the resolution of no less than three spherical triangles, and two of these in the cases where trigonometrical calculation is the most laborious. Various methods have been tried, and many different tables have been constructed for facilitating these computations, but hitherto with little success; for the process has remained much too intricate, and subdivided into too many cases, to be of general use. The solution given here is by far the simplest that has appeared, and brings the problem within the power of any ordinary calculator. The first part of the paper in the transactions just quoted, contains the several formulæ from which the rules here given are deduced. The great simplification which Mr Mendoza has thus effected, will be made evident to any one, who shall compare the great complication of precepts and cases in all the former solutions with the direct and easy process which he has laid down. The errors to which the calculator is exposed, when forced to attend to a great number of different circumstances, and the discouraging length of the computation being both removed, it may now be hoped, that this important problem, which has hitherto been of so little use, will become general in every system of navigation. The introduction of the versed sines has contributed much to simplify the solution of this problem, as well as of that already mentioned.

The

The tables and rules contained in this volume, from which so much practical advantage may be expected, are deduced, as we have already observed, in great measure from the author's treatise on *nautical astronomy*, contained in the Philosophical Transactions, to which we would refer the mathematical reader. The first author, so far as we know, who treated professedly on this subject, was M. de Maupertuis, who deduced the various solutions from the orthographic projection of the sphere in a very simple manner; but his notation is not commodious; and the theorems, those of them at least that involve any considerable difficulty, are not reduced to the simplicity which practice requires. Some of the problems are resolved by quadratic, and even by bi-quadratic equations.

Gregorio Fontana has treated the same subject with more success. His notation is remarkably neat and convenient, and his theorems have great simplicity.

Mr Mendoza has treated the subject with that superiority which might be expected from one who is not only a profound mathematician, but a skilful seaman, and who has both studied navigation as a science, and practised it as an art. He knew, of course, the problems that were of real practical utility, and was a judge of the degree of simplicity which a mathematical theorem must possess before it can be safely put into the hands of an ordinary navigator. These circumstances have rendered the treatise just mentioned of great value; and we earnestly recommend the study of it to all who would acquire a thorough knowledge of *nautical astronomy*.

Among the recommendations of the work now under review, we must not neglect to mention its cheapness, the whole, though a quarto volume of 670 pages of arithmetical tables, printed with great neatness and accuracy, being sold at the price of one guinea. This advantage, so singular at a time when even ordinary printing is exorbitantly dear, the book owes to the munificence of two public bodies, and to the disinterestedness of the author himself. Mr Mendoza tells us—

‘The expences attending this work are such, that had it been published in the usual manner, the price of the book must have been so high as to confine its utility solely to that class of navigators who are in easy circumstances; and which, unfortunately, is not the most numerous. But the Commissioners of Longitude have remedied this disadvantage, by granting a sum of money to reduce the price to the public; and I here present my most respectful thanks to them for this honourable testimony of their approbation of my labours.

‘The Court of Directors of the East India Company, whose liberality with regard to science in general, and particularly that of navigation,

is so well known, have also voted a sum of money to effect a further reduction in the price of this work, for which I likewise present to them my best acknowledgements.

‘ With this double assistance, and the additional sacrifice, on my part, of all views of profit, I have settled the sale of this edition on the moderate terms at which it is now published ; and I shall esteem myself happy, if my endeavours to bring these tables before the public, in the most likely manner to prove useful, should contribute in any degree to improve and diffuse the practice of nautical astronomy.’

We are glad to add, that the success of the work has been such as might be expected from the union of its own merit with the established reputation of its author, and the patronage of so respectable a body as the Board of Longitude. The first edition, though a very large one, is said to be already nearly sold off, and a second, we hope, will soon extend the celebrity, and bring with it a pecuniary remuneration to the author.

ART. XVIII. *Epistles, Odes, and other Poems*. By Thomas Moore, Esq. 4to. pp. 350. London. 1806.

A SINGULAR sweetness and melody of versification,—smooth, copious, and familiar diction,—with some brilliancy of fancy, and some show of classical erudition, might have raised Mr Moore to an innocent distinction among the long-writers and occasional poets of his day ; but he is indebted, we fear, for the celebrity he actually enjoys to accomplishments of a different description ; and may boast, if the boast can please him, of being the most licentious of modern versifiers, and the most poetical of those who, in our times, have devoted their talents to the propagation of immorality. We regard his book, indeed, as a public nuisance ; and would willingly trample it down by one short movement of contempt and indignation, had we not reason to apprehend, that it was abetted by patrons who are entitled to a more respectful remonstrance, and by admirers who may require a more extended exposition of their dangers.

There is nothing, it will be allowed, more indefensible than a cold-blooded attempt to corrupt the purity of an innocent heart ; and we can scarcely conceive any being more truly despicable, than he who, without the apology of unruly passion or tumultuous desires, sits down to ransack the impure places of his memory for inflammatory images and expressions, and commits them laboriously to writing, for the purpose of insinuating pollution into the minds of unknown and unsuspecting readers.

This

This is almost a new crime among us. While France has to blush for so many tomes of '*Poésies Erotiques*,' we have little to answer for, but the coarse indecencies of Rochester and Dryden; and these, though sufficiently offensive to delicacy and good taste, can scarcely be regarded as dangerous. There is an antidote to the poison they contain, in the open and undisguised profligacy with which it is presented. If they are wicked, they have the honesty at least to profess wickedness. The mark of the beast is set visibly on their foreheads; and though they have the boldness to recommend vice, they want the effrontery to make her pass for virtue. In their grossest immoralities, too, they scarcely ever seem to be perfectly in earnest; and appear neither to wish nor to hope to make proselytes. They indulge their own vein of gross riot and debauchery; but they do not seek to corrupt the principles of their readers; and are contented to be reprobated as profligate, if they are admired at the same time for wit and originality.

The immorality of Mr Moore is infinitely more insidious and malignant. It seems to be his aim to impose corruption upon his readers, by concealing it under the mask of refinement; to reconcile them imperceptibly to the most vile and vulgar sensuality, by blending its language with that of exalted feeling and tender emotion; and to steal impurity into their hearts, by gently perverting the most simple and generous of their affections. In the execution of this unworthy task, he labours with a perseverance at once ludicrous and detestable. He may be seen in every page running round the paltry circle of his seductions with incredible zeal and anxiety, and stimulating his jaded fancy for new images of impurity, with as much melancholy industry as ever outcast of the muses hunted for epithets or metre.

It is needless, we hope, to go deep into the inquiry, why certain compositions have been reprobated as licentious, and their authors ranked among the worst enemies of morality. The criterion by which their delinquency may be determined, is fortunately very obvious: no scene can be tolerated in description, which could not be contemplated in reality, without a gross violation of propriety: no expression can be pardoned in poetry to which delicacy could not listen in the prose of real life.

No writer can transgress those limits, and be held guiltless; but there are degrees of guiltiness, and circumstances of aggravation or apology, which ought not to be disregarded. A poet of a luxuriant imagination may give too warm a colouring to the representation of innocent endearments, or be betrayed into indelicacies in delineating the allurements of some fair seducer, while it is obviously his general intention to give attraction



attraction to the picture of virtue, and to put the reader on his guard against the assault of temptation. Mr Moore has no such apology;—he takes care to intimate to us, in every page, that the raptures which he celebrates do not spring from the excesses of an innocent love, or the extravagance of a romantic attachment; but are the unhallowed fruits of cheap and vulgar prostitution, the inspiration of casual amours, and the chorus of habitual debauchery. He is at pains to let the world know that he is still fonder of roving, than of loving; and that all the Caras and the Fannys, with whom he holds dalliance in these pages, have had each a long series of preceding lovers, as highly favoured as their present poetical paramour: that they meet without any purpose of constancy, and do not think it necessary to grace their connexion with any professions of esteem or permanent attachment. The greater part of the book is filled with serious and elaborate descriptions of the ecstasies of such an intercourse, and with passionate exhortations to snatch the joys, which are thus abundantly poured forth from ‘the fertile fount of sense.’

To us, indeed, the perpetual kissing, and twining, and panting of these amorous persons, is rather ludicrous than seductive; and their eternal sobbing and whining, raises no emotion in our bosoms, but those of disgust and contempt. Even to younger men, we believe, the book will not be very dangerous: nor is it upon their account that we feel the indignation and alarm which we have already endeavoured to express. The life and conversation of our sex, we are afraid, is seldom so pure as to leave them much to learn from publications of this description; and they commonly know enough of the reality, to be aware of the absurd illusions and exaggerations of such poetical voluptuaries. In them, therefore, such a composition can work neither corruption nor deception; and it will, in general, be despised and thrown aside, as a tissue of sickly and fantastical conceits, equally remote from truth and respectability. It is upon the other sex, that we conceive its effects may be most pernicious; and it is chiefly as an insult upon their delicacy, and an attack upon their purity, that we are disposed to resent its publication.

The reserve in which women are educated; the natural vivacity of their imaginations; and the warmth of their sensibility, renders them peculiarly liable to be captivated by the appearance of violent emotions, and to be misled by the affectation of tenderness or generosity. They easily receive any impression that is made under the apparent sanction of these feelings; and allow themselves to be seduced into any thing, which they can be persuaded is dictated by disinterested attachment, and sincere and excessive love. It is easy to perceive how dangerous it must  
be

be for such beings to hang over the pages of a book, in which supernatural raptures, and transcendent passion, are counterfeited in every page; in which, images of voluptuousness are artfully blended with expressions of refined sentiment, and delicate emotion; and the grossest sensuality, is exhibited in conjunction with the most gentle and generous affections. They who have not learned from experience, the impossibility of such an union, are apt to be captivated by its alluring exterior. They are seduced by their own ignorance and sensibility; and become familiar with the dæmon, for the sake of the radiant angel to whom he has been linked by the malignant artifice of the poet.

We have been induced to enter this strong protest, and to express ourselves thus warmly against this and the former publications of this author, both from what we hear of the circulation which they have already obtained, and from our conviction that they are calculated, if not strongly denounced to the public, to produce, at this moment, peculiar and irremediable mischief. The style of composition, as we have already hinted, is almost new in this country: it is less offensive than the old fashion of obscenity; and for these reasons, perhaps, is less likely to excite the suspicion of the moralist, or to become the object of precaution to those who watch over the morals of the young and inexperienced. We certainly have known it a permitted study, where performances, infinitely less pernicious, were rigidly interdicted.

There can be no time in which the purity of the female character can fail to be of the first importance to every community; but it appears to us, that it requires at this moment to be more carefully watched over than at any other; and that the constitution of society has arrived among us to a sort of crisis, the issue of which may be powerfully influenced by our present neglect or solicitude. From the increasing diffusion of opulence, enlightened or polite society is greatly enlarged, and necessarily becomes more promiscuous and corruptible; and women are now beginning to receive a more extended education, to venture more freely and largely into the fields of literature, and to become more of intellectual and independent creatures, than they have yet been in these islands. In these circumstances, it seems to be of incalculable importance, that no attain should be given to the delicacy and purity of their expanding minds; that their increasing knowledge should be of good chiefly, and not of evil; that they should not consider modesty as one of the prejudices from which they are now to be emancipated; nor found any part of their new influence upon the licentiousness of which Mr Moore invites them to be partakers. The character and the morality of women exercises already a mighty influence upon the happiness and the respectability

respectability of the nation; and it is destined, we believe, to exercise a still higher one: but if they should ever cease to be the pure, the delicate, and timid creatures that they now are—if they should cease to overawe profligacy, and to win and to shame men into decency, fidelity, and love of unsullied virtue—it is easy to see that this influence, which has hitherto been exerted to strengthen and refine our society, will operate entirely to its corruption and debasement; that domestic happiness and private honour will be extinguished, and public spirit and national industry most probably annihilated along with them.

There is one other consideration which has helped to excite our apprehension on occasion of this particular performance. Many of the pieces are dedicated to persons of the first consideration in the country, both for rank and accomplishments; and the author appears to consider the greater part of them as his intimate friends, and undoubted patrons and admirers. Now, this we will confess is to us a very alarming consideration. By these channels, the book will easily pass into circulation in those classes of society, which it is of most consequence to keep free of contamination; and from which its reputation and its influence will descend with the greatest effect to the great body of the community. In this reading and opulent country, there are no fashions which disguise themselves so fast, as those of literature and immorality: there is no palpable boundary between the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie*, as in old France, by which the corruption and intelligence of the former can be prevented from spreading to the latter. All the parts of the mass, act and react upon each other with a powerful and unintermitted agency; and if the head be once infected, the corruption will spread irresistibly through the whole body. It is doubly necessary, therefore, to put the law in force against this delinquent, since he has not only indicated a disposition to do mischief, but seems unfortunately to have found an opportunity.

In some of these observations, we are afraid that our fashionable readers may detect the extreme rigour of our Calvinistic education, and think that we have treated this libertine bard with unnecessary severity. To such persons, we beg leave to recommend the following lines of an old English poet, in which the iniquities of Mr Moore's compositions are described, we think, in prophetic language; and a sentence is passed upon them not much lighter than that which we wish the public to ratify.

Thereto he could fine loving verses frame,  
And play the Poet oft. But, ah! for shame!  
Let not sweet poets praise, whose only pride  
Is virtue to advance and vice deride,

Be with the work of Lofel's wit defamed;  
 Ne let such verses poetry be named.  
 Yet he the name on him would rashly take,  
 Maugre the sacred Muses, add it make  
 A servant to the vile affection  
 Of such as he depended most upon,  
 And with the sugry sweet thereof allure  
 Chaste ladies ears to fantasies impure.  
 To such delights the Noble Wits he led,  
 Which him relieved, and their vain humours fed  
 With fruitless follies and unsound delights.'

*Spenser's Mother Hubbard's Tale.*

On looking back to the volume, with a view to estimate its poetical merits impartially, as separated from its sins of morality, we were surprised to find how little praise it could lay claim to; and are more and more convinced, that its popularity is owing almost entirely to the seduction of the subjects on which it is employed. We shall not stain our page with any of the passages to which our preceding censures are intended to apply; but the following may serve as a specimen of Mr Moore's talent for witty and familiar poetry.

' When next you see the black-ey'd CATY,  
 The loving, languid girl of Hayti,  
 Whose finger so expertly plays  
 Amid the ribbon's silken maze,  
 Just like Aurora, when she ties  
 A rainbow round the morning skies !  
 Say, that I hope, when winter's o'er,  
 On Norfolk's bank again to rove,  
 And then, shall search the ribbon-store  
 For some of CATY's softest love,  
 I should not like the glose were past,  
 Yet want it not entirely new ;  
 But bright and strong enough to last  
 About—suppose a week or two.  
 However frail, however light,  
 'Twill do, at least, to wear at night :  
 And so you'll tell our black-ey'd CATY,  
 The loving, languid girl of Hayti !' p. 64. 65.

If the reader should want a specimen of his more elaborate and lofty gallantry, he may take the following; which appears to us to be rather a splendid example of that figure of speech which is commonly called nonsense.

' I pray thee, on those lips of thine  
 To wear this rosy leaf for me,

And breathe of something not divine,  
Since nothing human breathes of thee !

All other charms of thine I meet  
In nature; but thy sigh alone ;  
Then take, oh ! take, though not so sweet,  
The breath of roses for thine own !

So, while I walk the flowery grove,  
The bud that gives, through morning dew,  
The lustre of the lips I love,  
May seem to give their perfume too !' p. 99.

In the same taste is the following magnificent stanza of a lady holding a child in her arms.

' Soft as she smil'd, he smil'd again ;  
They seem'd so kindred in their charms  
That one might think, the babe had then  
Just budded in her blooming arms !  
He look'd like something form'd of air,  
Which she had utter'd in a sigh ;  
Like some young spirit, resting there,  
That late had wander'd from her eye !' p. 101.

The tawdry, affected, and finical style of this author, cannot be better illustrated than in those verses about something which he calls the Snow-Spirit.

' The down from his wing is as white, as the pearl  
Thy lips for their cabinet stole,  
And it falls on the green earth as melting, my girl,  
As a murmur of thine on the soul !  
Oh ! fly to the elime, where he pillows the death,  
As he cradles the birth of the year ;  
Bright are your bowers and balmy their breath,  
But the Snow-Spirit cannot come here !' p. 102, 103.

This is in the right millinery taste ; but it is surpassed by what follows.

' But fly to his region—lay open thy zone,  
And he'll weep all his brilliancy dim,  
To think that a bosom, as white as his own,  
Should not melt in the day-beam like him !' p. 103.

Mr Moore, however, has not always confined himself to those familiar and gallant lucubrations ; he has favoured his readers with several fine specimens of sublimity, and made a splendid display of his erudition, in a variety of mythological hymns and epistles. The most superb, perhaps, is a dithyrambic on the fall of Hebe, which has the merit of being almost entirely unintelligible ; our readers may try their penetration upon the following passages.

' And

' And now she rais'd her rosy mouth to sip  
     The nectar'd wave  
     Lyæus gave,  
 And from her eyelids, gently clos'd,  
     Shed a dissolving gleam,  
     Which fell, like sun-dew, in the bowl !  
 While her bright hair, in mazy flow  
     Of gold, descending  
 Along her cheek's luxurious glow,  
     Wav'd o'er the goblet's side,  
 And was reflected by its crystal tide,  
     Like a sweet crocus flower,  
     Whose sunny leaves, at evening hour,  
     With roses of Cyrene blending,  
 Hang o'er the mirror of a silver stream !  
     The Olympian cup  
     Burn'd in the hands  
 Of dimpled Hebe, as she wing'd her feet  
     Up  
     The empyreal mount,  
 To drain the soul-drops at their stellar fount ;  
     And still,  
     As the resplendent rill  
 Flam'd o'er the goblet with a mantling heat,  
     Her graceful care  
     Would cool its heavenly fire  
     In gelid waves of snowy-feather'd air,  
     Such as the children of the pole respire,  
     In those enchanted lands,  
 Where life is all a spring, and north winds never blow !  
     But oh !  
     Sweet Hebe, what a tear,  
     And what a blush were thine,  
     When, as the breath of every Grace,' &c. p. 222-4.  
 Those who can interpret this, have some chance of under-  
 standing the following—  
     ' Welcome, my shell !  
     How many a star has ceas'd to burn,  
     How many a tear has Saturn's gleaming urn  
     O'er the cold bosom of the ocean wept,  
     Since thy aerial spell  
     Hath in the waters slept !  
     Mortal ! I fly,  
     With the bright treasure to my choral sky,  
     Where she, who wak'd its early swell,  
     The syren, with a foot of fire,  
     Walks o'er the great string of my Orphic Lyre,  
     H h 2

Or guides around the burning pole  
The winged chariot of some blissful soul !  
While thou !

Oh son of earth ! what dreams shall rise for thee !

Beneath Hispania's sun,  
Thou'lt see a streamlet run,

Which I have warm'd with dew's of melody. ' p. 50, 51.

There are some very fine lines, such as—

' Where matter *darkles*, or where spirit beams. '—

' Blast thee with the lightning bug. '

and

' Fiery fever's thirsty thrill,  
Fitsful ague's shivering chill ! '

But we prefer the artless innocence of the following rambly-  
pamby—

' Then my playful hand I steep  
Where the gold-thread loves to creep,  
Cull from thence a tangled wreath,  
Words of magic round it breathe,  
And the sunny chaplet spread  
O'er the sleeping fly-bird's head,  
Till, with dreams of honey blest,  
Haunted in his downy nest  
By the garden's fairest spells,  
Dewy buds and fragrant bells,  
Fancy all his soul embowers  
In the fly bird's heaven of flowers ! ' p. 314.

The pieces which approach the nearest to common sense, are those which are conceived in the form of Epistles to the friends of the author. They are written in the ordinary heroic measure, and, along with the characteristic tawdriness of his usual style, display occasional point and vivacity, that, under a severer training, might entitle the author to the attention of the public. We give the beginning of the epistle to Dr Hume, as a very favourable specimen.

' 'Tis evening now ; the heats and cares of day  
In twilight dew's are calmly wept away.  
The lover now, beneath the western star,  
Sighs through the medium of his sweet segar,  
And fills the ears of some consenting she  
With puffs and vows, with smoke and constancy !  
The weary statesman for repose hath fled  
From halls of council to his negro's shed,  
Where blest he woos some black *Aspasia's* grace,  
And dreams of freedom in his slave's embrace !  
In fancy now, beneath the twilight gloom,  
Come, let me lead thee o'er this modern Rome,

Where

Where tribunes rule, where dusky Davi bow,  
 And what was Goose-Creek once, is Tiber now!  
 This fam'd metropolis, where Fancy sees  
 Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;  
 Which travelling fools and gazetteers adorn  
 With shrines unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn,  
 Though nought but wood and \*\*\*\*\* they see,  
 Where streets should run and fages *ought* to be! p. 209-10.

The following is an abstract of the author's severe judgment on the Americans.

'Mind, mind alone, in barren, still repose,  
 Nor blooms, nor rises, nor expands, nor flows!  
 Take christians, mohawks, democrats and all,  
 From the rude wig-wam to the congress-hall;  
 From man the savage, whether slav'd or free,  
 To man the civiliz'd, less tame than he!  
 'Tis one dull chaos, one unfruitful strife  
 Betwixt half-polish'd and half-barbarous life;  
 Where every ill the ancient world can brew  
 Is mix'd with every grossness of the new;  
 Where all corrupts, though little can entice,  
 And nothing's known of luxury, but its vice!' p. 267.

Whatever may be thought of the poetry or the politics of these passages, they are at least innocent in point of morality. But they bear but a small proportion to the objectionable contents of the volume, and cannot be allowed to atone for the demerits of a publication which we would wish to see consigned to universal reprobation.

ART. XIX. *Simple Tales: By Mrs Opie.* In Four Volumes. 12mo. London. 1806.

WE owe some apology to Mrs Opie, for omitting at the proper time to take notice of her beautiful story of the Mother and Daughter; the second volume of which is perhaps the most pathetic, and the most natural in its pathos, of any fictitious narrative in the language. In the tales now before us, we find much of the same merits; the same truth and delicacy of sentiment; the same graceful simplicity in the dialogue parts of the work; and the same happy art of presenting ordinary feelings and occurrences in a manner that irresistibly commands our sympathy and affection.

Mrs Opie has no great share of invention, either in incident or in character. We often see through the whole story from its first opening; and few of her personages can be said to be original,



ginal, or even uncommon, when compared either with the inventions of dramatists, or the variety of common life. They have a merit, however, which in our eyes is incomparably superior: they are strictly true to general nature, and are rarely exhibited, except in interesting situations. We have always been of opinion, indeed, that no character can be natural, unless it be pretty common; and that that originality, of which so many writers are ambitious, is of value chiefly in bringing out the effect of ludicrous and violently comical representations. For more serious sympathy we must be made to feel that the sentiments and actions of the characters are such, as must inevitably belong to all persons in their situation; and it is on the delicate adaptation of their language and conduct to their circumstances, and not to any supposed peculiarity in their character, that the success of the writer will generally depend. It will be found accordingly, we believe, that almost all the fine traits of natural expression that are quoted and remembered, from the dramatists and greater poets, both ancient and modern, derive their whole beauty from this perfect and beautiful conformity to general and universal nature; and that they reach the heart of every reader, just because every reader perceives at once that they express the concentrated and appropriate emotion, which it is natural for persons in such circumstances to feel. There is no need for the representation of ideal individuality. The general conception of a delicate and affectionate girl—of a gallant and warm-hearted young man—of a tender mother, a patriotic warrior, or an anxious lover—are quite sufficient to call forth our sympathies, and to make us feel, in its whole force and extent, the truth of the sentiments imputed to them. The task and the triumph of the fabulist is in selecting situations that give rise to the most powerful and commanding of those sentiments, and in expressing them with simplicity and directness.

These observations might be illustrated, we conceive, in a very striking way, by an examination of the most impressive passages and characters in the works of Shakespeare; nor would it be difficult perhaps to show, that what have often been quoted as examples of originality in the conception of character, are nothing more than the exquisite adaptation of common and familiar feelings to peculiar situations. It is impossible for us, however, to enter into such an investigation at present. We shall merely desire our readers to consider how little substantial diversity of character there is among the female persons of this great writer; and whether it is to any thing, but to the difference of their situation, that we can refer the variety of emotion which we receive from the natural expressions of Desdemona, Imogen, Juliet, Ophelia, and Miranda.

There

There is something delightfully feminine in all Mrs Opie's writings; an apparent artlessness in the composition of her narrative, and something which looks like want of skill or of practice in writing for the public, that gives a powerful effect to the occasional beauties and successes of her genius. There is nothing like an ambitious or even a sustained tone in her stories; we often think she is going to be tedious or silly; and immediately, without effort or apparent consciousness of improvement, she slides into some graceful and interesting dialogue, or charms us with some fine and delicate analysis of the subtler feelings, which would have done honour to the genius of Marivaux. She does not reason well; but she has, like most accomplished women, the talent of perceiving truth, without the process of reasoning, and of bringing it out with the facility and the effect of an obvious and natural sentiment. Her language is often inaccurate, but it is almost always graceful and harmonious. She can do nothing well that requires to be done with formality; and, therefore, has not succeeded in copying either the concentrated force of weighty and deliberate reason, or the severe and solemn dignity of majestic virtue. To make amends, however, she represents admirably every thing that is amiable, generous, and gentle.

These tales are of very unequal merit; and we do not propose to give any detailed account of them. Those in the third volume, we think, are clearly the best. The Soldier's Return, and the Brother and Sister, though the scene is laid, in both, in humble life, and the incidents by no means new either in real or fictitious story, are pathetic to a painful and distressing degree. The latter in particular is written with great delicacy and beauty. We regret that our limits will not permit us to give some part of it to our readers. We can only make room for the last words of the unfortunate heroine, with one sentence of necessary explanation. Ellen Percival, the beautiful daughter of an English farmer, is seduced by a French nobleman who had lodged in her father's house during a period of illness. After his desertion of her, and his return to his own country, she is driven by shame and temporary distraction to destroy, at the moment of its birth, the fruit of their unlawful connexion. She is condemned to die; and, on the eve of her execution, writes this letter to the author of all her agonies. We are sensible that it will lose much of its effect when read without any farther knowledge of the tender and simple character of the writer; but it is impossible to read it, we believe, without being struck with the tone of natural and gentle feeling which it expresses so admirably.

" From the condemned cell, in S——— jail, and on the eve of my execution.

" Yes; it is even so! That Ellen, whom you once *seemed* to love,

H h 4

(for

(for I find from your letter to the Count that you never *really* loved me), that fond, foolish Ellen, who loved you even more than her own soul, will to-morrow morning perish on a scaffold! O, thou whom I have loved so fatally, think of me as I was when you first knew me, and think of me now! But do not think that I mean to reproach you:—You did not intend to destroy me! No; you only intended to seduce me:—but is there such a thing as a single crime! Does not one crime inevitably lead to another!

“How shocked I was when I found that there would be an evidence of my guilt! My first impulse was to destroy myself:—but then I recollected how that would grieve you—(poor credulous fool!)—for my mother told me how much you cried and bewailed when you saw me ill in bed, and feared that I should die. I therefore resolved to live, not from fear of God, but from love of you! And then I thought that it would be sweet to live for the sake of *your child*, and what pleasure it would give me to present it to your arms one day, and see you smile on it; for methought you would love me the more for its sake; and that dear hope supported me through such sufferings! But at length came the Count and your letter: I found that we were never to meet again; I found that you were married, and to a woman whom you passionately loved, and who had alone taught you to love; and you would have been the happiest of the happy but for thinking of *poor Ellen Percival*. Yes; from the seeming object of your love I was become the object of your pity only; and then you hoped by your money to make me amends for the loss of your affection! Oh! what a pang the offer of that money gave me! But the Count can tell you how I spurned your gift. I dare not even think again of the horror of that moment. He left me to commune with my own sad thoughts; and all was disappointment and desperation.

“The child, for whose sake, and for the sake of my poor parents’ peace, I had consented to live, would, I found, be never seen by its father, nor even owned by him when it came into existence; and all the dreams of my fond fancy were vanished for ever, while its birth would doom me to endless disgrace, and probably destroy both my parents! On these thoughts I dwelt, till deeds of death were dear and familiar to me. I cannot go on:—for, oh, my murdered babe, am I not writing to thy father! Yet mark me, mark me, Fontanges; I was mad, indeed I was, or I could not have been so barbarous. But this defence I make only to thee, and to the God who reads my heart. It sufficed not before the judgement-seat of men; there I was condemned to death, and to-morrow I shall be executed!

“But I had forgotten:—My father, that good old man who was so kind to you, heard the tale of my guilt—shuddered—and died.

“Morning is already dawning! Now, then, I must bid you farewell, conjuring you to drop a few tears over the story of my woes, and then endeavour to remember me no more. Trust me that I forgive you from my soul for all the grief which you have occasioned me; and that

that my dying prayer will be, that you may be as happy in *your* love as I have been unfortunate in *mine*. But I don't think any body can love you better than your *poor*

"ELLEN PERCIVAL." (III. 218-22.)

The story of 'the Orphan' is pretty, and very interesting. It contains the following verses, supposed to be written by a gentle and timid young woman, pining under the oppression of a romantic and concealed passion for a man who entertained no suspicion of her attachment. We think they have great tenderness and beauty.

Not one kind look—one friendly word !  
 Wilt thou in chilling silence sit ;  
 Nor through the social hour afford  
 One cheering smile, or beam of wit ?  
 Yet still, absorb'd in studious care,  
 Neglect to waste one look on me ;  
 For then my happy eyes may dare  
 To gaze and dwell uncheck'd on thee.  
 And still in silence sit, nor deign  
 One gentle precious word to say ;  
 For silent I may then remain,  
 Nor let my voice my soul betray.  
 This falt'ring voice, these conscious eyes,  
 My throbbing heart too plainly speak :  
 There timid hopeless passion lies,  
 And bids it *silence* keep, and *break*.'

To me how dear this twilight hour,  
 Cheer'd by the faggot's varying blaze !  
 If this be mine, I ask no more  
 On morn's refulgent light to gaze :  
 For now, while on his glowing cheek  
 I see the fire's red radiance fall,  
 The darkest seat I softly seek,  
 And gaze on him, unseen by all.  
 His folded arms, his studious brow,  
 His thoughtful eye, unmark'd, I see ;  
 Nor could his voice or words bestow  
 So dear, so true a joy on me.  
 But he forgets that I am near—  
 Fame, future fame, in thought he seeks.  
 To him ambition's paths appear,  
 And bright the sun of science breaks.  
 His heart with ardent hope is fill'd ;  
 His prospects full of beauty bloom :

But,

But, oh! my heart despair has chill'd,  
My only prospect is—the tomb!

One only boon from Heaven I claim,  
And may it grant the fond desire!  
That I may live to hear his fame,  
And in that thro' of joy expire.\*

\* One little moment, short as blest,  
Compassion Love's soft semblance wore,  
My meagre form he fondly press'd,  
And on his beating bosom bore.

His frame with strong emotion shook,  
And kindness tun'd each falt'ring word;  
While I, surpris'd, with anxious look  
The meaning of his glance explor'd.

But soon my too experienc'd heart  
Read nought but generous pity there;  
I felt presumptuous hope depart,  
And all again was dark despair.

Yet still, in memory still, my heart  
Lives o'er that fleeting bliss again;  
I feel his glance, his touch, impart  
Emotion through each bursting vein.

And "Once (I cry) those eyes so sweet  
"On me with fondness deign'd to shine;  
"For once I felt his bosom beat  
"Against the conscious throbs of mine!"

Nor shall the dear remembrance die  
While aught of life to me is given;  
But sooth my last convulsive sigh,  
And be, till then, my joy—my heaven!

IV. p. 267. 68. 70. 71.

\* The Uncle and Nephew' is amiable and well managed.—  
'The Death-Bed'—'The Robber'—and 'Murder will out,'  
are not very natural. 'The Fashionable Wife' is still worse;  
and, though many of the particular scenes are well drawn, we  
cannot help withholding our sympathy from distresses, deduced  
from a source so inadequate and fantastic. In the other tales,  
there is occasionally something frivolous, and something too ob-  
vious and inartificial; but in all, there is much just representation  
of manners and character, and much pleasing composition.

We cannot place Mrs Opie so high in the scale of intellect as  
Miss Edgeworth; nor are her Tales, though perfectly unobjec-  
tionable on the score of morality, calculated to do so much good.  
They are too fine for common use; and do not aim at the cor-  
rection

rection of errors and follies of so extensive and fundamental a nature. She does not reason so powerfully ; and she is not sufficiently cheerful : indeed she is too pathetic, to be read with much advantage to practical morality. Her writings, however, are very amiable and very beautiful ; and exhibit virtuous emotions under a very graceful aspect. They would do very well to form a woman that a gentleman should fall in love with ; but can be of no great use in training ordinary mortals to ordinary duties.

QUAR-

## QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

*From April 10. to July 10. 1866.*

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